

The Unkempt Heritage: On the Role of Latin in the Arabic-Islamic Sphere

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Abstract

As linguistic systems, Latin and Arabic have interacted for centuries. The article at hand aims at analysing the status of the Latin language in the Arab and Arabic-Islamic sphere. Starting out from the observation that Latin-Christian and Arabic-Islamic scholarship dedicated a very different degree of attention to the study of the respective 'other' language in the course of the centuries, the article traces the impact of Latin on an emerging Arabic language in Antiquity, provides an overview on the various references to Latin found in works of Arabic-Islamic scholarship produced in the medieval and modern periods, and provides an exhaustive list of Arabic translations of Latin texts. A description of the role played by Latin in the Arabic-speaking world of our times is followed by a discussion of several hypotheses that try to explain why Latin was rarely studied systematically in the Arabic-Islamic sphere before the twentieth century.

Keywords

Arabic, Latin, Romance languages, translations, linguistic interaction, Orientalism, Occidentalism, relations between Christian Europe and the Arabic-Islamic sphere

Résumé

Le latin et l'arabe, en tant que systèmes linguistiques, furent en interaction pendant des siècles. Le présent article a pour objectif d'analyser le statut de la langue latine dans le monde arabe et arabo-musulman. Partant de l'observation que les érudits latins chrétiens et arabo-musulmans se consacrèrent à différents degrés à l'étude de la langue de « l'Autre », l'article retrace l'impact du latin sur une langue arabe émergeant

dans l'Antiquité, donne un aperçu des références à la langue latine dans les œuvres des érudits arabo-musulmans produites aux époques médiévale et moderne, et fournit une liste exhaustive des traductions des textes latins en arabe. Après avoir esquissé le statut actuel de la langue latine dans le monde arabophone de nos jours, l'article aborde plusieurs hypothèses qui essaient d'expliquer pourquoi le latin n'a guère été un objet d'études systématiques dans le monde arabo-musulman avant le xx^e siècle.

Mots clés

Arabe, latin, langues romanes, traductions, interaction linguistique, Orientalisme, Occidentalisme, relations entre l'Europe chrétienne et le monde arabo-musulman

For centuries, Latin and Arabic have played a preponderant role as languages of administration, intellectual endeavours and religion in a region that we may define as 'Euromediterranean'. The rise of Latin was first due to Roman expansionism, then to the retention of Latin as the language of administration and Christianity by post-Roman societies in the Western Mediterranean, finally its adoption by various societies east of the Rhine and north of the Danube.¹ Arabic, in turn, found a standardized form as the *koiné* of merchants and a poetical prestige language in Late Antiquity, became the sacred language of Islam and was catapulted to the status of a supraregional language thanks to the Arabic-Islamic expansion.² Although Arabic has not ceased to be spoken as a native language by a large number of non-Muslims, Latin and Arabic respectively became cultural markers of European or 'Latin' Christendom and an Arabic-Islamic sphere stretching from the Iberian Peninsula to Central Asia.³ The starting point of the article at hand is the observation that (Latin-)

1 Jürgen Leonhardt, *Latein : Geschichte einer Weltsprache*, Munich, C.H. Beck, 2009, p. 46-159.

2 Ernst-Axel Knauf, "Arabo-Aramaic and 'Arabiyya: From Ancient Arabic to Early Standard Arabic, 200 CE-600 CE", in *The Qur'ān in Context: Historical and Literary Investigations into the Qur'ānic Milieu*, eds Angelika Neuwirth, Nicolai Sinai and Michael Marx, Leiden-Boston, Brill ("Texts and studies on the Qur'ān", 6), 2011, p. 197-254; Anwar G. Chejne, *The Arabic Language: Its Role in History*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1969, p. 52-80.

3 On parallels with regard to the establishment of Latin and Arabic as supraregional languages see Kees Versteegh, "The Origin of the Romance Languages and the Arabic Dialects", in *Islão e arabismo na península ibérica*, ed. Adel Sidarus, Évora, Universidade de Évora, 1986, p. 337-352; Benoît Grévin, *Le parchemin des cieux : Essai sur le Moyen Âge du langage*, Paris, Seuil ("L'Univers historique"), 2012, p. 23-51.

Christian Europe and the Arabic-Islamic sphere cultivated the respective 'other' language in a decidedly different way.

Latin-Christian interest in the Arabic language was aroused very early. In the early Middle Ages, Christians on the Iberian Peninsula—first under Muslim, then under Christian rule—produced the occasional Latin-Arabic glossary,⁴ contributed to the translation of Latin texts into Arabic⁵ and, from around the twelfth century onwards, of Arabic texts into Latin.⁶ Societies under the rule of Latin-Christian elites soon became interested in the Arabic language. In the tenth century, Gerbert of Aurillac received indirect access to knowledge transmitted by Arabic texts known in certain monasteries of Catalonia.⁷ However, the basis for a systematic study of Arabic and its literary production was laid in the twelfth century and is clearly related to various forms of Latin-Christian expansionism: the Latin translation of the Qur'ān commissioned by Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, aimed at providing the textual basis for a systematic refutation of Islam.⁸ At around the same time, Latin-Christian expansionism into territory formerly under Muslim control (Sicily, the Iberian Peninsula, crusader states) made a large range of texts pertaining to the Graeco-Arabic scientific tradition accessible to Latin-Christian

4 Pieter S. Koningsveld, *The Latin-Arabic Glossary of the Leiden University Library: a Contribution to the Study of Mozarabic Manuscripts and Literature*, Leiden, New Rhine Publishers, 1977; Cyrille Aillet, *Les Mozarabes : Christianisme, islamisation et arabisation en péninsule Ibérique (IX^e-XII^e siècle)*, Madrid, Casa de Velázquez ("Bibliothèque de la Casa de Velázquez", 45), 2010, p. 153-176.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 185-212.

6 Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny, "Les traductions à deux interprètes, d'arabe en langue vernaculaire et de langue vernaculaire en latin", in *La transmission des textes philosophiques et scientifiques au Moyen Âge*, ed. Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny and Charles Burnett, Aldershot, Variorum ("Collected studies series", 463), 1994, p. 193-206, also makes note of the important contribution of Jews.

7 Marco Zuccato, "Gerbert of Aurillac and a Tenth-Century Jewish Channel for the Transmission of Arabic Science to the West", *Speculum*, 80 (2005), p. 742-763.

8 Petrus Venerabilis, *Contra sectam Saracenorum*, in *Schriften zum Islam*, ed. and transl. Reinhold Gleis, Würzburg-Altenberge, Echter-Oros ("Corpus Islamo-Christianum. Series Graeca", 3), 1985, p. 52-55 (*prologus*, cap. 17-18); Johann W. Fück, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa bis in den Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, O. Harrassowitz, 1955, p. 3-10; James Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable and Islam*, Princeton, Princeton University Press ("Princeton oriental studies", 23), 1964; Dominique Iogna-Prat, *Ordonner et exclure : Cluny et la société chrétienne face à l'hérésie, au judaïsme et à l'islam, 1000-1150*, Paris, Aubier (« Collection historique »), 1998; Ulisse Cecini, *Alcoranus latinus: Eine sprachliche und kulturwissenschaftliche Analyse der Koranübersetzungen von Robert von Ketton und Marcus von Toledo*, Münster, Lit ("Geschichte und Kultur der Iberischen Welt", 10), 2012, p. 81-84.

scholars.⁹ The so-called Arabic-Latin translation movement lost momentum in the course of the fourteenth to sixteenth century when European-Christian humanists began to favour direct translations from Greek to Latin to the detriment of Arabic-Latin translation.¹⁰ Notwithstanding, the systematic study of Arabic was continued in Christian Europe for various reasons.¹¹ Among the relevant motivations, we still find the belief in the necessity to understand Islam and Islamic societies. In addition, a missionary agenda increasingly directed at Arabic-speaking Christians of the Middle East,¹² the use of Arabic historiography to solve questions of computation,¹³ the conviction that a study of Arabic would help to solve problems of Hebrew philology relevant to the study of the Old Testament¹⁴ etc., promoted the institutionalization of Arabic studies in

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- 9 Overviews in Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny, "Translations and Translators", dans *La transmission des textes philosophiques et scientifiques au Moyen Âge*, p. 421-462; Charles Burnett, "Translation from Arabic to Latin in the Middle Ages", in *Übersetzung: Ein internationales Handbuch zur Übersetzungsforschung*, ed. Harald Kittel, Berlin, de Gruyter ("Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft", 26/2), 2007, 11/2, p. 1220-1231. Dag Nikolaus Hasse, "The Social Conditions of the Arabic-(Hebrew-)Latin Translation Movements in Medieval Spain and in the Renaissance", in *Wissen über Grenzen: Arabisches Wissen und lateinisches Mittelalter*, ed. Andreas Speer and Lydia Wegener, Berlin-New York, de Gruyter ("Miscellanea mediaevalia", 33), 2006, p. 71-72, emphasizes that these translations took place in recently conquered territories.
- 10 Felix Klein-Franke, *Die klassische Antike in der Tradition des Islam*, Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft ("Erträge der Forschung", 136), 1980, p. 17-52; Dag Nikolaus Hasse, "Die humanistische Polemik gegen arabische Autoritäten. Grundsätzliches zum Forschungsstand", *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch*, 3 (2001), p. 65-79.
- 11 Cf. Gerard A. Wiegiers, "Moriscos and Arabic Studies in Europe", *Al-Qanṭara*, 31/2 (2010), p. 604.
- 12 Whereas early missionary activity focused on the conversion of Muslims, later initiatives were increasingly directed at Oriental Christians, cf. John Tolan, "Porter la bonne parole auprès de Babel : les problèmes linguistiques chez les missionnaires mendiants, XIII^e-XIV^e siècle", in *Zwischen Babel und Pfingsten: Sprachdifferenzen und Gesprächsverständigung in der Vormoderne (8.-16. Jahrhundert)*, ed. Peter von Moos, Münster-Zurich, Lit ("Gesellschaft und individuelle Kommunikation in der Vormoderne", 1), 2008, p. 533-548; Bernard Heyberger, *Les chrétiens du Proche-Orient au temps de la réforme catholique: Syrie, Liban, Palestine, XVII^e-XVIII^e siècles*, Rome, École française de Rome ("Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome", 284), 1994; Gerald J. Toomer, *Eastern Wisdom and Learning: The Study of Arabic in Seventeenth-Century England*, Oxford, Clarendon press, 1996, p. 15.
- 13 Joseph Scaliger, *De emendatione temporum*, Cologny, Typis Roverianis, 1629 (reprint of 1583); cf. Fück, *Arabische Studien*, p. 47-53.
- 14 See e.g. Thomas Erpenius (1584-1624), *Orationes tres de linguarum Ebraeae atque Arabicae Dignitate*, Leiden, Typographia Auctoris, 1621, p. 67; cf. Fück, *Arabische Studien*, p. 105-107; Toomer, *Eastern Wisdom*, p. 54.

early modern universities and laid the basis for the continuous academic study of Arabic in Europe up to this day.

The following pages will show that the Arabic-Islamic sphere did not develop a comparable intellectual interest in the Latin language until the twentieth century. After giving a broad overview on the impact of Latin on the pre-Islamic Arab and Arabic-Islamic sphere from Antiquity to the present, the article will discuss various hypotheses that try to explain why a systematic study of Latin did not develop earlier in the Arabic-Islamic sphere.

The Roman Linguistic Impact on the Pre-Islamic Arab Sphere

Direct contact between Latin and early forms of Arabic—defined as “Ancient” and “Old” Arabic by Ernst-Axel Knauf¹⁵—is already attested for Antiquity. The Roman Empire’s intrusion into the Hellenistic sphere of the eastern Mediterranean from the second century BCE onwards, then the Roman take-over of great parts of the Middle East between the first century BCE and the second century CE¹⁶ ensured that Latin had an impact on the vehicular languages of the ancient and late antique Middle East, *i.e.* Greek and Aramaic.¹⁷ Mostly via these languages, Latin also had an impact on those early dialectal variants of Arabic that were to form the basis of an early Arabic standard language emerging in the course of the second to the sixth century.¹⁸ Whereas older scholarship emphasized that Latin only had a limited impact on the languages of the ancient Middle East,¹⁹ more recent research has highlighted that Latin played an important role in certain domains of society—not only in the military, administrative and legal sectors of imperial society in the Middle

15 Knauf, “Arabo-Aramaic”, p. 204-212.

16 Glen W. Bowersock, *Roman Arabia*, Cambridge-London, Harvard University Press, 1983; Fergus Millar, *The Roman Near East, 31 B.C.-337 A.D.*, Cambridge-London, Harvard University Press, 1994.

17 Ladislav Zgusta, “Die Rolle des Griechischen im römischen Kaiserreich”, in *Die Sprachen im Römischen Reich der Kaiserzeit*, ed. Günter Neumann and Jürgen Untermann, Köln-Bonn, Rheinland-Habelt (“Beihefte der Bonner Jahrbücher”, 40), 1980, p. 131-5; Haiim B. Rosén, “Die Sprachsituation im römischen Palästina”, in *ibid.*, p. 215.

18 On this emergence see Knauf, “Arabo-Aramaic”, p. 197-254.

19 Rosén, “Sprachsituation”, p. 215, 219-220, 238.

East,²⁰ but also as the daily language in specific enclaves.²¹ Even to those who moved outside these circles, Latin was visible as a language of political power in numerous Middle Eastern inscriptions,²² many of them found in regions populated by Arab groups of Antiquity.²³ One may add that Nabatean and even bilingual Latin-Nabatean inscriptions in Puteoli and Rome attest to the occasional presence of Old Arabic speakers in the ancient and late antique Latin West as well as to their capability of dealing with the Latin language.²⁴

Notwithstanding, the effort of tracing the impact of Latin on an emerging Arabic language in the ancient and late antique Middle East is fraught with difficulties. A number of lexemes found in Nabatean inscriptions, pre-Islamic Arabic poetry, the Qurʾān and later works of Arabic-Islamic literature appear

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- 20 *Ibid.*, p. 219-220; Benjamin Isaac, "Latin in Cities of the Roman Near East", in *From Hellenism to Islam: Cultural and Linguistic Change in the Roman Near East*, eds Hannah M. Cotton, Robert G. Hoyland, Jonathan J. Price and David J. Wasserstein, Cambridge-New York-Melbourne, Cambridge University Press, 2009, p. 43.
- 21 Isaac, "Latin in Cities", p. 43-72, esp. p. 46, 67-68.
- 22 Werner Eck, "The Presence, Role and Significance of Latin in the Epigraphy and Culture of the Roman Near East", in *From Hellenism to Islam*, p. 15-42.
- 23 E.g. Paolo M. Costa, "A Latin-Greek Inscription from the Jawf of the Yemen", *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies*, 7 (1977), p. 69-72; David L. Kennedy and Henry MacAdam, "Latin Inscriptions from the Azraq Oasis, Jordan", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 60 (1985), p. 100-104; Christian Marek, "Der römische Inschriftenstein von Barāqīš", in *Arabia Felix: Beiträge zur Sprache und Kultur des vorislamischen Arabien*, ed. Norbert Nebes and Rosemarie Richter, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1995, p. 178-89; Fergus G. Millar, "Latin in the Epigraphy of the Roman Near East", in *Acta Colloquii Epigraphici Latini: Helsingae 3.-6. sept. 1991 habiti*, ed. Heikki Solin, Olli Salomies and Uta-Maria Liertz, Helsinki, Societas Scientiarum Fennica ("Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum", 104), 1995, p. 403-419; David F. Graf, "The *Via Nova Traiana* in Arabia Petraea", in *Rome and the Arabian Frontier: From the Nabateans to the Saracens*, ed. David F. Graf, Farnham, Ashgate ("Collected studies series", 594), 1997, art. VI, p. 1-33; Khālid Asʿad, "Inscriptions latines de Palmyre", *Revue des Études Anciennes*, 104 (2002), p. 363-400; François Villeneuve, Carl Philipps and William Facey, "Une inscription latine de l'archipel Farasân (Sud de la Mer Rouge) et son contexte archéologique et historique", *Arabia*, 2 (2004), p. 143-192; Dhaifallah al-Talhi and Mohammad al-Daire, "Roman Presence in the Desert: A New Inscription from Hegra", *Chiron: Mitteilungen der Kommission für alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, 35 (2005), p. 205-217; Isaac, "Latin in Cities", p. 63-64.
- 24 Knauf, "Arabo-Aramaic", p. 230, n. 104, with reference to CIS II 159, an inscription from Rome with one line in Nabatean and three lines in Latin. Also see George Albert Cooke, *A Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions: Moabite, Hebrew, Phoenician, Aramaic, Nabataean, Palmyrene, Jewish*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1903, p. 256-257, with reference to CIS II 158, a monolingual Nabatean inscription from Puteoli/Italy.

to be Latin loanwords. They have been defined as such in studies on foreign words in pre-Islamic Arabic poetry and the Qur'ān by Siegmund Fraenkel and Arthur Jefferey,²⁵ in specialized studies on individual Arabic lexemes by David Graf,²⁶ Manfred Ullmann,²⁷ Jannis Niehoff-Panagiotidis,²⁸ as well as in various articles of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.²⁹ Irfan Shahīd then provided an overview on these loanwords in Kees Versteegh's *Encyclopaedia of the Arabic Language*.³⁰ The results of these studies, presented in Table 1, suggest that Latin, as the language of a highly developed machinery of power known as the Roman Empire, stands at the root of various Arabic words which pertain to the semantic fields of military hierarchy, legal and financial administration, transport and logistics, spatial dimensions and commerce. More surprising is that Latin also seems to have influenced the language of daily affairs: not only terms for objects belonging to the sphere of what we may call 'haute culture' seem to be of Latin origin, but also terms for rather primitive implements that can definitely not be regarded as Roman cultural imports.

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- 25 Siegmund Fraenkel, *De vocabulis in antiquis Arabum carminibus et in Corano peregrinis*, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1880; *id.*, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1886; Arthur Jefferey, *Foreign Vocabulary in the Qur'ān*, Baroda, Oriental Institute, 1938.
 - 26 David Franck Graf, "The Nabataean Army and the *Cohortes Ulpiae Petraeorum*", in *Rome and the Arabian Frontier*, art. v, p. 269-270, 272-273, 289-290, on the basis of Maria Gabriella Bertinelli Angeli, *Nomenclatura pubblica e sacra di Roma nelle epigrafi semitiche*, Genova, Istituto di storia antica e scienze ausiliarie ("Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto di storia antica e scienze ausiliarie dell'Università di Genova", 7), 1970, p. 63, n. 1.
 - 27 Manfred Ullmann, *Zur Geschichte des Wortes barīd "Post"*, München, Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften ("Sitzungsberichte", 1997/1), 1997, p. 5-77.
 - 28 Jannis Niehoff-Panagiotidis, "Romania Graeco-Arabica: Lat. *signum* > *σῆνον* > arab. *ṣign*", in *Romania Arabica: Festschrift für Reinhold Kontzi zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Jens Lüdtke, Tübingen, Narr, 1996, p. 1-19.
 - 29 Dominique Sourdel, "Balāt", *Et2*; *id.*, "Barīd", *Et2*; Irfan Shahīd, "Bīṭriq", *Et2*; George Miles, "Dīnār", *Et2*; Avraham Udovitch, "Fals", *Et2*; François Viré, "Iṣṭabl", *Et2*; Irfan Shahīd *et al.*, "Ḳayṣar", *Et2*; Franz Rosenthal, "Mandil", *Et2*; Albert Dietrich, "Ṣābūn", *Et2*; Jørgen S. Nielsen, "Ṣhurṭa", *Et2*; François C. De Blois, "Sidjill", *Et2*; Irene Schneider, "Sidjn", *Et2*; Guy Monnot, "Ṣirāt", *Et2*.
 - 30 Irfan Shahīd, "Latin Loanwords", in *Encyclopedia of the Arabic Language and Linguistics*, ed. Kees Versteegh, Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2008, III, p. 6-8.

TABLE 1 *Arabic words of supposed Latin origin transmitted via Greek or Aramaic*

Ethnonyms & toponyms	<i>Romani</i> > <i>al-Rūm</i> ; <i>fossatum</i> > <i>al-Fuṣṭāt</i>
Ranks & titles	<i>centurio</i> > <i>qnṭryn</i> [Nabatean]; <i>caesar</i> > <i>qayṣar</i> ; <i>comes</i> > <i>qūmis</i> ; <i>domesticus</i> > <i>dumistiḡ</i> ; <i>patricius</i> > <i>al-biṭrīḡ</i> ; <i>vicarius</i> > <i>al-fīḡār</i>
Military	<i>burgus</i> > <i>burḡ</i> ; <i>castrum</i> > <i>qaṣr</i> ; <i>cohors</i> > <i>ṣurṭa</i> ; <i>custodia</i> > <i>quṣṭās</i> ; <i>exercitus</i> > <i>‘askar</i>
Administration	<i>quaestor</i> > <i>quṣṭār/qiṣṭār</i> ; <i>sigillum</i> > <i>siḡill</i> ; <i>signum</i> > <i>siḡn</i>
Transport & logistics	<i>horreum</i> > <i>hurā</i> ; <i>nauta</i> > <i>nūti</i> ; <i>mille passum</i> > <i>mīl</i> ; <i>palatium/platea</i> > <i>balāt/balad</i> ; <i>stabulum</i> > <i>iṣṭabl</i> ; <i>strata</i> > <i>ṣirāt</i> ; <i>stuppa</i> > <i>iṣṭabba</i> ; <i>veredus</i> > <i>barīd</i>
Finance & Commerce	<i>denarius</i> > <i>dīnār</i> ; <i>dolus</i> > <i>dals</i> ; <i>folis</i> > <i>fuls</i> ; <i>constans</i> > <i>qisṭās</i>
Weights & Measures	<i>centenarium</i> > <i>qinṭār</i> ; <i>litra</i> > <i>riṭl</i> ; <i>uncia</i> > <i>uḡiyya</i>
‘Haute culture’ (?)	<i>conditum</i> > <i>qindīd</i> ; <i>mantile</i> > <i>mindīl</i> ; <i>balneator</i> > <i>ballān</i>
Basic implements	<i>flagellum</i> > <i>farḡalla</i> ; <i>piscina</i> > <i>fisḡiyya</i> ; <i>situla</i> > <i>sayṭal/saṭl</i> ; <i>birrus</i> > <i>burnus</i> ; <i>calamus</i> > <i>qalam</i> ; <i>camisia</i> > <i>qamiṣ</i> ; <i>candela</i> > <i>qindīl</i> ; <i>sapo</i> > <i>ṣābūn</i> ; <i>speculum</i> > <i>siḡanḡal</i>

It must be highlighted that the reconstructed etymology of many a Greek, Aramaic, Latin and Arabic word discussed in the aforementioned studies is far from clear. Consequently, scholars such as ‘Alī Fahmī Ḥuṣaym have refrained from tracing etymologies and restricted themselves to juxtaposing seemingly related Latin and Arabic words.³¹ Christoph Luxenberg, in turn, even went as far as inverting the etymology of certain Arabic terms by claiming that their Syro-Aramaic root actually stood at the origins of the respective Greek and Latin word.³² Luxenberg’s arguments cannot be simply swiped away. The language of Latium achieved supraregional importance in a Mediterranean strongly marked by a Graeco-Phoenician linguistic heritage with strong ties to various Middle Eastern languages usually defined as Semitic. In consequence,

31 ‘Alī Fahmī Ḥuṣaym, *al-Lātīniyya l-‘arabiyya: dirāsa muqārana bayna luḡatayn ba‘īdayn qarībayn: muqaddima wa-muḡam/Latin Arabic- or Arabic Latin-: A Comparative Study of two Separate but Related Languages: Introduction and Glossary*, Cairo, Markaz al-ḥaḍāra l-‘arabiyya, 2002.

32 Christoph Luxenberg, *The Syro-Aramaic Reading of the Koran: A Contribution to the Decoding of the Language of the Koran*, Berlin, H. Schiler, 2007, p. 226–229, with regards to the lexems *ṣirāt* and *qaṣr*.

it is often impossible to determine which language actually stood at the origins of a certain term.³³ In addition, it is a proven fact that certain semantic fields of Latin and Arabic were subject to the same linguistic influences: in the course of its early Mediterranean expansion, the message of Christianity was formulated in a variant of *koiné*-Greek featuring various Judaeo-Aramaic elements that stand at the roots of various Latin and Arabic lexemes alike.³⁴ A final problem encountered by the scholar interested in reconstructing the Latin influence on Arabic in Antiquity is the difficulty of dating the Arabic assimilation of Latin loanwords. Arabic terms that certainly derive from Latin such as official titles of Latin origin did not necessarily become part of the linguistic sphere of Ancient and Old Arabic. Since they were also used in the early Byzantine sphere, their assimilation may have taken place later in the context of Byzantine-Umayyad or even Byzantine-Abbasid relations.

In spite of the many difficulties of reconstructing the ancient or late antique Latin impact on the emerging Arabic language, it seems exaggerated to discard the idea that Latin had an impact on Middle Eastern languages. A powerful socio-political system usually affects all facets of its environment, including the linguistic. Notwithstanding, the impact of imperial Latin on the linguistic landscape of the ancient and late antique Middle East should not be overrated.³⁵ It is obvious, in any case, that in a period, in which Arabic did not yet exist in a superregional standardized written form, Latin could not yet become an object of systematic study in Arabic. Even if we surmise that the one or the other Nabatean merchant or Ghassanid phylarch made efforts to acquire Latin language skills, we must concede that such assumed early efforts to engage with Latin did not contribute to establishing a specifically Arabic culture of studying this language.

33 Cf. *ibid.*, p. 226-229.

34 Examples taken from the above-cited literature are: *amen* < Heb./Jud.-Aram. > *amūn*; *dies Sabbathi* < Heb./Jud.-Aram. > *yawm al-sabt*; *gehenna* < Heb./Jud.-Aram. > *ǧahannam*; *ecclesia* < ἐκκλησία > *qalīs/kanīsa*; *episcopus* < ἐπίσκοπος > *usquf*; *evangelium* < εὐαγγέλιον > *inǧīl*; *diabolus* < διάβολος > *Iblīs*; *paradisus* < παράδεισος > *firdaws*; *thorax* < θυρεός > *turs*; *drachma* < δραχμή > *dirham*; *caminus* < κάμινος > *qamīn*; *charta* < χάρτης > *qirṭās*; *cucuma* < κουκούμιον > *qumqum*; *gypsum* < γύψος > *qīṣṣ*.

35 Cf. Aḥmad ʿItmān, *al-Adab al-lātīnī wa-dawruhu l-ḥaḍārī*, Cairo, Aegyptus, 1990, p. 247.

Latin in Early Middle Eastern Arabic-Islamic Texts (3rd/9th-5th/11th c.)

The rise of Islam in the early first/seventh century and the Arabic-Islamic expansion of the first/seventh and second/eighth centuries were accompanied by the emergence of an Islamic scholarly culture that increasingly put down its intellectual endeavours in writing. Arabic script and literature developed in such a significant way that Arabic became one of the leading vehicles of thought in the post-Roman period.³⁶ Soon various scholarly genres served to record the world-view of an intellectual elite of Islamic faith in Arabic.³⁷

Arabic-Islamic texts containing elaborate descriptions of the non-Muslim sphere were produced from around the third/ninth century onwards. Geo-, ethno-, and historiographical, but also linguistic treatises written by various Middle Eastern authors contain references to languages of the Roman and post-Roman West that can either be defined as Latin or as a regional Romance dialect. However, they do not feature a transcription of the term “Latin,” but define the Latin language as “Roman” (*al-rūmiyya*) or “Frankish” (*al-ifranġiyya*).

In connection with a group of Jewish merchants involved in long-distance trade, Ibn Ḥurradāḏbih (d. ca 300/911) refers to the languages “al-andalusiyya” and “al-ifranġiyya,” both of which probably designate a Romance vernacular.³⁸ Ibn Durayd (d. 321/933), in turn, mentions various Arabic words of possible Latin origin in his lexical compendium entitled *Ġamharat al-luġa*, including many lexemes mentioned above. In some cases, he identifies them as being of non-Arabic origin (*ʾaġami*), in other cases he attributes a Persian origin to them. In a few instances, Ibn Durayd correctly identifies their Roman origin, e.g. in a short section dedicated to lexemes imported from the “Roman language” (*al-rūmiyya*),³⁹ but fails to distinguish between Greek and Latin.

36 Overviews in Chejne, *Arabic*, p. 52-84; Kees Versteegh, *The Arabic Language*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1997, p. 23-188; Christian Julien Robin, “Introduction—The Development of Arabic as a Written Language”, in *The Development of Arabic as a Written Language*, ed. M.C.A. Macdonald, Oxford, Archaeopress (“Proceedings of the seminar for Arabian studies”, 40), 2010, p. 1-4; Christian Julien Robin, “La réforme de l’écriture arabe à l’époque du califat médienois”, *Mélanges de l’Université Saint-Joseph*, 59 (2006), p. 157-202.

37 Daniel G. König, *Arabic-Islamic Views of the Latin West: Tracing the Emergence of Medieval Europe*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2015, p. 2, 72-113.

38 Ibn Ḥurradāḏbih, *Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik*, ed. and transl. Michael de Goeje, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1889, p. 153-154.

39 Ibn Durayd, *Ġamharat al-luġa*, ed. Ramzī Munīr Baʿlbakī, Beirut, Dār al-ʿilm li-l-malāyīn, 1987, p. 1324-1325. The language “al-rūmiyya” is mentioned in connection with various lexemes, not all of them of Latin origin, cf. p. 220, 312, 362, 835-856, 1120, 1143, 1147, 1172, 1190, 1203-1204, 1222, 1244, 1324-1326.

TABLE 2 Words of probable Latin origin in Ibn Durayd's dictionary of the Arabic language

Assumed Latin-Arabic etymology	Ibn Durayd's comments on the terms' origins (Arabic)	Ibn Durayd's comments on the terms' origins (translation)
<i>stabulum</i> > <i>iṣṭabl/iṣṭabl</i>	<i>wa-l-iṣṭabl laysa min kalām al-ʿArab; al-iṣṭabl laysa bi-ʿarabī.</i> ^a	"and <i>al-iṣṭabl</i> does not belong to the speech of the Arabs"; " <i>al-iṣṭabl</i> is not Arabic."
<i>denarius</i> > <i>dīnār</i>	<i>wa-l-dīnār fārisī muʿarrab wa-aṣluhu dinnār.</i> ^b	"and <i>al-dīnār</i> is Arabicized Persian, its origin being <i>dinnār</i> ."
<i>sigillatum</i> > <i>siğill</i>	<i>wa-l-siğill: al-kitāb, wa-zaʿama qawm annahu fārisī muʿarrab fa-qālū: sikil, ayy ṭalāṭa ḥutūm, wa-dafaʿa ḍālīka Abū ʿUbayda wa-ʿulamāʾ al-Baṣriyyīn, wa-lam yatakallam al-Aṣmaʾī fīhi bi-ṣayʾ, wa-huwa ʿarabī ṣaḥīḥ, in ṣāʾ Allāh.</i> ^c <i>wa-siğill: kitāb, wa-llāhu aʿlam. qāla Abū Bakr: wa-lā iltafattu ilā qawlihim innahu fārisī muʿarrab.</i> ^d	"and <i>al-siğill</i> : the written document, some people claim that it is Arabicized Persian and have said: <i>sikil</i> or three seals. This has been defended by Abū ʿUbayda and the ʿulamāʾ of al-Baṣra. However, al-Asmaʾī does not speak about this at all, and it is clear Arabic, if God wills." " <i>siğill</i> : a written document, but God knows. Abū Bakr said: I did not turn to their talk, for it is Arabicized Persian."
<i>situla</i> > <i>saṭl</i>	<i>al-saṭl wa-l-sayṭal aḡamiyān wa-qad takallamat bihimā al-ʿArab.</i> ^e	" <i>al-saṭl</i> and <i>al-sayṭal</i> are both non-Arabic, the Arabs having talked about both of them."
<i>iustitia</i> > <i>qisṭ</i> <i>exercitus</i> > <i>ʿaskar</i>	<i>wa-l-qisṭ: al-ʿadl.</i> ^f <i>wa-l-ʿaskar fārisī muʿarrab wa-innamā huwa laṣkar wa-huwa ittifāq fī l-luḡatayn.</i> ^g	"and <i>al-qisṭ</i> means justice". "and <i>al-ʿaskar</i> is Arabicized Persian, for [in Persian] it is <i>laṣkar</i> which represents a concordance between both languages."

TABLE 2 Words of probable Latin origin in Ibn Durayd's dictionary (cont.)

Assumed Latin-Arabic etymology	Ibn Durayd's comments on the terms' origins (Arabic)	Ibn Durayd's comments on the terms' origins (translation)
<i>constans</i> > <i>qisṭās/qusṭās</i>	<i>fa-ammā al-qisṭās wa-l-qusṭās wa-l-qusṭās fa-huwa al-mizān bi-l-rūmiyya, wa-llāhu a'lam, illā anna l-'Arab qad takallamat bihi wa-ḡā'a fī l-tanzīl^h; wa-qusṭās wa-qisṭās [...]</i> <i>rūmi mu'arrabⁱ; al-qusṭās: al-mizān, rūmī mu'arrab.^j</i>	"with regards to <i>al-qisṭās</i> and <i>al-qusṭās</i> , <i>al-qusṭās</i> means scale in Roman, but God knows better [if this is correct], for the Arabs already talked about it and it is part of [divine] revelation; <i>qusṭās</i> and <i>qisṭās</i> are [...] Arabicized Roman; <i>al-qusṭās</i> : the scale, Arabicized Roman."
<i>comes</i> > <i>qūmis</i>	part of the list <i>mimmā aḥadḥūhu min al-Rūmiyya^k</i>	part of the list "of what they have taken from the Roman language."
<i>caesar</i> > <i>qayṣar</i>	<i>ism a'ḡamī, wa-qad takallamat bihi al-'Arab.^l</i>	"a foreign name, about which the Arabs have already talked."

a *Ibid.*, p. 1124-1125.b *Ibid.*, p. 640.c *Ibid.*, p. 475.d *Ibid.*, p. 1164.e *Ibid.*, p. 836.f *Ibid.*, p. 836: here we can notice the hesitancy to accept that a Qur'ānic word may not belong to the Arabic language.g *Ibid.*, p. 1326.h *Ibid.*, p. 836.i *Ibid.*, p. 1203.j *Ibid.*, p. 1324, from the section on words taken from the language "al-rūmiyya". Cf. al-Suyūṭī, *Mutawakkilī fīmā warada fī l-Qur'ān bi-l-luḡa l-ḥabašīyya wa-l-fārisīyya wa-l-rūmiyya wa-l-hindīyya wa-l-siryānīyya wa-l-'ibrānīyya wa-l-nabatīyya wa-l-qibṭīyya wa-l-turkīyya wa-l-zanḡīyya wa-l-barbarīyya*, ed. and transl. William Bell, PhD thesis, Yale University, 1924, p. 23.k Ibn Durayd, *Ḥamharat al-luḡa*, p. 1324.l *Ibid.*, p. 1172.

Other Middle Eastern scholars of the fourth/tenth century approached linguistic phenomena less systematically. Like Ibn Durayd, they did not distinguish clearly between Greek and Latin and defined texts that could have been written in Latin as “Roman” or “Frankish”: al-Masʿūdī (d. 345/956) claims that the emperor Augustus composed verses in the “Roman” language (*al-rūmiyya*)⁴⁰—a term that could also designate the Greek language,⁴¹ and asserts that the Latin imperial titles “Augustus” and “Caesar” derived from a language he defines as “archaic Frankish” (*al-ifrañḡiyya l-ūlā*).⁴² Al-Iṣṭaḥrī (4th/10th c.) and his pupil Ibn Ḥawqal (d. after 378/988) only point to the fact that the Byzantines used a different language than the Franks and the Galicians.⁴³ Ibn al-Nadīm (d. ca 385/995–388/998) distinguishes the “Greek script” (*al-ḥaṭṭ al-rūmī*) from a “Lombard” and “Saxon” (*qalam li-Nukubardih wa-l-Sākisih*) script called “afistaliqā” (*Apostolica*?), as well as from “Frankish script” (*kitābat al-Faraṅḡa*), which he had seen on sword hilts and in a letter written by a female Frankish ruler to the Abbasid caliph al-Muktafi bi-Llāh (r. 289/902–295/908).⁴⁴ This letter, recorded in a later source of disputed authenticity ascribed to a certain al-Rašīd b. al-Zubayr (5th/11th c.?), was allegedly translated into Greek by a Frank capable of reading “the writing of his people” (*yaqraʿu kitābat ahlihi*).⁴⁵ Al-Muqaddasī (d. after 380/990) has heard about the fact that the people of the West (*al-Maḡrib*) speak a language that resembles “Roman” (*rūmī*), but cannot provide anymore details.⁴⁶ Finally, the Persian scholar al-Bīrūnī

40 Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūǧ al-ḍahab wa-maʿādin al-ǧawhar*, ed. Charles Barbier de Meynard et Abel Pavet de Courteille, revue et corrigée par Charles Pellat, Beirut, Publications de l’Université Libanaise, 1965–1979; *id.*, *Les prairies d’or*, transl. Charles Barbier de Meynard et Abel Pavet de Courteille, revue et corrigée par Charles Pellat, Paris, Société Asiatique, 1962–1997, § 712, p. 30 (ar.), p. 267 (fr.).

41 Cf. Nikolai Serikoff, “Rūmī and yūnānī: Towards the Understanding of the Greek Language in the Medieval Muslim World”, in *East and West in the Crusader States: Context—Contacts—Confrontations*, ed. Krijna Nelly Ciggaar, Adelbert Davids and Hermann G.B. Teule, Leuven, Peeters, 1996, p. 169–94.

42 al-Masʿūdī, *Kitāb al-tanbīh wa-l-iṣrāf*, ed. Michael de Goeje, Leiden, Brill (“Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta”, 75), 1893, p. 123–124.

43 Al-Iṣṭaḥrī, *Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik*, ed. Michael de Goeje, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1927, p. 9; Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, ed. Johannes H. Kramers, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1938, p. 14.

44 Ibn al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, ed. Gustav Flügel, Leipzig, Verlag von F.C.W. Vogel, 1871; reprint Frankfurt, Institute for the history of Arabic-Islamic science at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, 2005, p. 16, 20.

45 Al-Rašīd b. al-Zubayr, *Kitāb al-Ḍaḥāʾir wa-l-tuḥaf*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥamīd Allāh, al-Kuwayt, Dāʾirat al-maṭbūʿāt wa-l-naṣr, 1959, p. 48–54.

46 Al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm fī maʿrifat al-aqālīm*, ed. Michael de Goeje, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1877, p. 243: *wa-luḡatuhum ʿarabiyya ḡayr annahā munḡaliqa muḡālifa li-mā ḍakarnā*

(d. ca 442/1050) regarded the imperial title ‘Caesar’ as a term of “Frankish” origin (*ifranġiyya*) while asserting, in another part of his work, that the name “Julius” signified “ruler of the world” in the “Roman” language (*al-rūmiyya*).⁴⁷

The evidence shows that Middle Eastern authors of the third/ninth to the fifth/eleventh century were far from being able to identify, let alone analyse the Latin language. This also has to do with the fact that, in spite of direct contacts between the Frankish and the Abbasid sphere and the occasional Middle Eastern traveller to the Muslim West, Middle Eastern Arabic-Islamic scholars generally stood at the end of long chains of transmission with regards to information on the early medieval Latin West.⁴⁸ We must thus turn to the Muslim West that produced the earliest Arabic transcription of the term ‘Latin’.

The Arabic-Islamic ‘Discovery’ of Latin in al-Andalus (3rd/9th–5th/11th c.)

Andalusian sources reporting on instances of oral communication define the local Romance vernacular as ‘non-Arabic’ (*al-‘aġamiyya*). This term is also used to define the Latin language in the so-called Mozarab Psalter, an Arabic translation of Jerome’s Latin translation of the Psalms produced by a certain Ḥafṣ b. Albar at the end of the third/ninth or the fourth/tenth century.⁴⁹ The earliest Arabic transcription of the term ‘Latin’ appears in connection with the enlarged, restructured and interpolated Latin-Arabic translation of Orosius’ *Historiae adversus paganos*, effected around the end of the third/ninth or the fourth/tenth century in the orbit of the Umayyad court.⁵⁰ Whereas the *Kitāb*

fī l-aqālīm wa-lahum lisān āḥar yuqārib al-rūmī [...]; cf. Otto Zwartjes, *Love Songs in al-Andalus: History, Structure, and Meaning of the Kharja*, Leiden-New York-Köln, Brill (“Medieval Iberian peninsula”, 11), 1997, p. 17.

47 Al-Bīrūnī, *al-Āṭār al-bāqīya ‘an al-qur’ūn al-ḥālīya*, ed. Eduard Sachau, Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1923; *id.*, *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, transl. Eduard Sachau, London, W.H. Allen, 1879, p. 29, 92 (ar.), p. 33, 103 (en.).

48 Cf. König, *Arabic-Islamic Views*, p. 77–80, 198–201.

49 Ḥafṣ b. Albar, *Urġūza*, v. 24 (*fī l-lisān al-a‘ġamī*), 39 (*fī l-a‘ġamī*), 44 (*fī l-a‘ġamī*), 50 (*fī l-a‘ġamī*), 73 (*fī l-lisān al-a‘ġamī*), in *Le Psautier mozarabe de Hafṣ le Goth*, ed. and transl. Marie-Thérèse Urvoy, Toulouse, Presses universitaires du Mirail (“Textes”), 1994, p. 15–17. On the date of translation see *ibid.*, p. iv, xvi–xvii.

50 On the different theories concerning the exact circumstances of this translation, see König, *Arabic-Islamic Views*, p. 84–85, 161–162.

Hurūšiyūš does not use the adjective ‘Latin’ (*al-laṭīnī*) in a linguistic sense,⁵¹ Arabic-Islamic scholarly works written in the wake of this translation repeatedly refer to the Latin language.

Citing the Andalusian scholar Ibn Ḡulḡul (d. after 384/994), the Oriental scholar Ibn Abī Usaybi’a (d. 668/1270) claims that ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III received the *Historiae adversus paganos* from the Byzantine emperor who encouraged the caliph to utilize “the Latins able to read the Latin language” (*al-Laṭīniyyīn man yaqra’uhu bi-l-lisān al-laṭīnī*) in his realm, to facilitate a translation “from the Latin to the Arabic language” (*min al-laṭīnī ilā l-lisān al-‘arabī*).⁵² In the fifth/eleventh century, Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064) mentions “the Latin language” (*al-luḡa l-lāṭīniyya*) in connection with the Christian interpretation of Jesus’ divine sonship,⁵³ and even comments on certain aspects of Latin grammar in a linguistic work entitled *An Approximation to the Definition of Logic and an Introduction to this in Common Terms and Legal Examples* (*al-Taqrīb li-ḥadd al-manṭiq wa-l-madḥal ilayhi bi-l-alfāz al-‘amiyya wa-l-amṭila l-fiḥhiyya*). This work contains three passages which compare features of the Arabic and the Latin language.

In the first passage, Ibn Ḥazm claims that, as opposed to Latin, the Arabic language does not distinguish as clearly between the question particles “what” and “which”:

Know that the Arabic language does not provide the possibility of giving expression to more than what you see. For the question “what?” (*mā*) and the question “which?” (*ayy*) can be equal in the Arabic language in the sense that each of these two expressions stands for the respective other and both have one single meaning. Whoever is proficient in the Latin language (*al-luḡa l-laṭīniyya*) knows the difference between these two meanings which we have endeavoured to investigate.⁵⁴

51 *Kitāb Hurūšiyūš: traducción árabe de las Historiae adversus paganos de Orosius*, ed. María Teresa Penelas Meléndez, Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2001, p. 45, 47, 53–54, 89, 116, 140.

52 Ibn Abī Uṣaybi’a, *Uyūn al-anbā’ fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’*, ed. August Müller, Cairo, al-Maktaba l-wahbiyya, 1881–1882, II, p. 47: *qāla Ibn Ḡulḡul [...] wa-kataba Armānyūs ilā l-Nāṣir [...] wa-ammā kitāb Hurūsīs fa-‘indaka fī baladika min al-Laṭīniyyīn man yaqra’uhu bi-l-lisān al-laṭīnī wa-in kāṣaftahum ‘anhu naqalūhu laka min al-laṭīnī ilā l-lisān al-‘arabī*.

53 Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Faṣl fī l-mīlāl wa-l-ahwā’ wa-l-niḥāl*, ed. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Naṣr and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ‘Umayra, Beirut, Dār al-ḡīl, 1985, I, p. 113; cf. Aillet, *Mozarabes*, p. 216–217.

54 Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Taqrīb li-ḥadd al-manṭiq wa-l-madḥal ilayhi bi-l-alfāz al-‘amiyya wa-l-amṭila l-fiḥhiyya*, ed. Iḥsān ‘Abbās, in Ibn Ḥazm, *Rasā’il Ibn Ḥazm*, Beirut, al-Mu’assasa l-‘arabiyya li-l-dirāsa wa-l-naṣr, 1983, IV, p. 109–110: *wa-lam anna l-luḡa l-‘arabiyya lam*

In the second passage, Ibn Ḥazm compares Arabic and Latin with regards to their ability of giving expression to phenomena of quantity (*al-kamiyya*) and quality (*al-kayfiyya*):

Quantity [as a phenomenon] is addressed in each case in which the question “how much” (*bi-kam*) applies. Quantification does not accept intensification (*al-ašadd*) or diminution (*al-aḍʿaf*). You will not say: “five is more intensive than five” if you are dealing with [the quantity of] five; furthermore, it is not possible to diminish it either. This is the case with every number. In the same way, you would not say: “a [specified] period of time is greater (*ašadd*) with regards to its duration (*zamāniyya*) than [the same specified] period of time, nor is it shorter (*aḍʿaf*).” It is a characteristic of quantity that it does not exist in non-quantified form. Neither is there a lack of different kinds of quantity, for they are either equal or not equal, many or few, augmenting or decreasing. For you say: “this [quantity of] ten is equal to eight and two, but unequal to eight alone”, and such is the case with all kinds of quantity. The Arabic language provides no terminological alternative, something that may also apply to [the phenomenon of] quality. This is clearly and unequivocally explained in the Latin language [used] among us (*‘indanā*),⁵⁵ for it features a term that specifically addresses [the phenomenon of] quantity, but not the other ten [Aristotelian] categories. In the Latin language, there is also a term that specifically addresses [the phenomenon of] quality, but not the other categories, there being no ambiguity about it. There exists no equivalent translation in Arabic [...].⁵⁶

tumakkin al-‘ibāra fihā bi-aktar mim mā tarā ‘alā anna l-su’āl bi-‘mā’ wa-l-su’āl bi-‘ayy’ qad yastawayāni fī l-luġa l-‘arabiyya wa-yanūbu kull wāḥid min ḥādayn al-lafẓayn ‘an ṣaḥibihi wa-yaq’ān bi-ma’nā wāḥid, wa-man aḥkama l-luġa l-laṭiniyya ‘arafa l-farq bayn al-ma’nayayn allaḍayna qaṣadnā fī l-istifhām [...].

55 The expression *‘indanā* could also signify “according to our opinion” in this context. Its syntactical position suggests, however, that Ibn Ḥazm is referring to linguistic conditions in his Andalusian environment rather than to his personal opinion, see the transcription in the following footnote.

56 Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Taqrīb*, p. 153: *wa-l-kamiyya huwa kull ma’nā ḥasuna fihī l-su’āl ‘anhu bi-kam, wa-l-kamiyya lā taqbulu l-ašadd wa-lā l-aḍʿaf. Lasta taqūlu ḥamsa ašadd min ḥamsa fī annahā ḥamsa. Wa-lā aḍʿaf minhā fī dālīka ayḍan wa-ḥakaḍā kull ‘adad. Wa-ka-dālīka lā taqūlu: zamān ašadd zamaniyya min zamān wa-lā aḍʿaf. Wa-ḥāṣṣat al-kamiyya llati lā tuġadu fī ġayr al-kamiyya, wa-lā yaḥlū minhā naw’ min anwā’ al-kamiyya fa-hiya musāwin wa-lā musāwin wa-kaṭīr wa-qalil wa-zā’id wa-nāqis, fa-innaka taqūlu ḥāḍihi l-‘ašara musāwiyya li-l-ṭamāniya wa-l-iṭnayn, wa-ġayr musāwiya li-l-ṭamāniya faqat, wa-ḥakaḍā*

This theme is developed in the third and last passage on the Latin language:

With regards to the specificity that characterizes all kinds of quality, no [kind of] quality lacks it in principle, for it is either similar or not similar. For you will say: “this truth is similar to this truth,” and “this lie is not similar to this truth,” and this applies to all [kinds of] quality. We have mentioned before that we cannot clarify this expression any further in the Arabic language. In the Latin language, there exists a specific and unequivocal term to express this, for which there exists no corresponding translation in the Arabic language [...].⁵⁷

Although Ibn Ḥazm obviously understood certain intricacies of the Latin language’s semantic spectrum,⁵⁸ he does not proffer a very deep insight into the functioning of this language. Nonetheless, it is obvious that, aside from Ibn Ḥazm, other Andalusian scholars of this period were aware of the historical and contemporary relevance of Latin: Šā‘id al-Andalusī (d. 462/1070) distinguishes between Greek (*al-ig̃rīqiyya*) and Latin (*al-lāṭīniyya*) when stating that the territory of the Romans (*al-Rūm*) was situated beside the territory of the Greeks (*al-Yūnāniyyūn*) in ancient times.⁵⁹ Al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094), in turn, defines Latin as one of the languages of pre-Islamic al-Andalus. He transcribes the Latin pronunciation of the toponym “Toledo” and claims that “experts

fī ḡamī‘ ‘anwā‘ al-kamiyya. Wa-hāḏihi ‘ibāra lam tu‘ti l-luḡa l-‘arabiyya ḡayrahā, wa-qad tušārikuhā fihā l-kayfiyya. Wa-hāḏā yastabīnu fī l-luḡa l-laṭīniyya ‘indanā istibānatan zāhīratan lā taḥtallu, wa-hiya lafza fihā taḥtaṣṣu bihā al-kamiyya dūn sā‘ir al-maḡlūlāt al-‘aṣar. Wa-li-l-kayfiyya aydan fī l-laṭīniyya lafza taḥtaṣṣu bihā iḥtiṣāṣan bayyinan lā iškāl fihī, dūn sā‘ir al-maḡlūlāt, lā tūḡadu lahā tarḡama muṭābiqa fī l-‘arabiyya [...].

57 *Ibid.*, p. 155-156: *wa-ammā l-ḥāṣṣa llatī taḥuṣṣu ḡamī‘ al-kayfiyyāt wa-lā taḥlū minhā kayfiyya aṣl fa-hiya šabih wa-lā šabih, fa-innaka taqūlu hāḏā l-ṣidq šabih bi-hāḏā l-ṣidq, wa-hāḏā l-kidb ḡayr šabih bi-hāḏā l-ṣidq, wa-hakaḏā fī kull kayfiyya. Wa-qad ḏakarnā qabl anna hāḏihi ‘ibāra lam naqdur fī luḡa l-‘arabiyya ‘alā abyān minhā, wa-li-hāḏā l-ma’nā fī l-laṭīniyya lafza lā’ihat al-bayān ḡayr muṣtaraka, wa-lam tūḡad lahā fī l-‘arabiyya tarḡama muṭābiqa lahā [...].*

58 Also see his other comments on the diffusion of Latin in al-Andalus, cf. Robert Ignatius Burns, *Muslims, Christians, and Jews in the Crusader Kingdom of Valencia: Societies in Symbiosis*, Cambridge-London-New York, Cambridge University Press (“Cambridge Iberian and Latin American studies”), 1984, p. 174.

59 Šā‘id al-Andalusī, *Kitāb Ṭabaqāt al-umam*, ed. Ḥayāt Bū ‘Alwān, Beirut, Dār al-ṭalī‘a, 1985, p. 38, 96.

of the Latin language" (*ahl al-ʿilm bi-l-lisān al-laṭīnī*) traced the toponym "Seville" back to a certain "Iṣbāl."⁶⁰

From the fifth/eleventh century onwards, however, Arabic-Islamic scholars from al-Andalus stopped mentioning the Latin language in their texts. Confronted with the rising momentum of the Reconquista, Muslim Andalusian scholarship seems to have focused increasingly on the Muslim affairs of the peninsula and to have neglected the latter's pre-Islamic past.⁶¹ Ibn al-Ḥaṭīb (d. 776/1375), for example, fails to deal with the Roman and Visigothic history of the Iberian Peninsula in his historiographical works. His *Kitāb A'māl al-a'lām*, however, contains various Arabic transcriptions and even some explanations of Castilian words, i.e. the terms "católico" (*al-qāṭūliqūh*), "magno" (*māḡnuh*), "corte" (*al-qurt*), "emperador" (*inbiradūr*) and "infante" (*al-ifānti*).⁶² The rise of the Ibero-Romance vernaculars as written languages, ultimately to the detriment of Latin,⁶³ is thus also documented in late medieval Andalusian sources.

The Limited Diffusion of Andalusian Knowledge on Latin in North Africa (11th-15th c.)

The Andalusian efforts of engaging with Latin approximately between the ninth and the eleventh century, albeit limited, were not without effect. Some of the linguistic knowledge acquired in al-Andalus seems to have been transmitted

60 Al-Bakrī, *Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik*, ed. Adriaan P. van Leeuwen and André Ferré, Tunis, al-Dār al-ʿarabiyya li-l-kitāb, 1992, § 1513, p. 902: *zaʿama ahl al-ʿilm bi-l-lisān al-laṭīnī anna aṣl tasmīyyatihā Iṣbāl*; § 1521, p. 907: *maʿnā Ṭulayṭula bi-l-laṭīnī Ṭulāzū*.

61 König, *Arabic-Islamic Views*, p. 141-142, 177-185, 334.

62 Ibn al-Ḥaṭīb, *A'māl al-a'lām*, ed. Évariste Lévi-Provençal, Beirut, Dār al-makšūf, 1957, p. 322 (*dūqīš*), 323 (*al-qāṭūliqūh*), 324 (*māḡnuh*), 325 (*al-qurt*, with the explanation *rāʾ kabīr yusammūnahu l-qurt*, *taḡḍur fīhi l-mulūk wa-l-umarāʾ li-taqḍir al-muṣālaḡa l-waqṭiyya wa-l-abadiyya*), 330 (*inbiradūr*), 332 (*al-ifānti*, with the explanation *wa-maʿnā l-ifānti walad al-sulṭān*).

63 Cf. Leon Patrick Harvey, "The Alfonsine School of Translators. Translation from Arabic into Castilian produced under the Patronage of Alfonso the Wise of Castile (1221-1252-1284)", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1 (1977), p. 109-117; Lloyd Kasten, "Alfonso El Sabio and the Thirteenth-Century Spanish Language", in *Emperor of Culture: Alfonso X the Learned of Castile and his Thirteenth-Century Renaissance*, ed. Robert Ignatius Burns, Philadelphia, University of Philadelphia Press ("The Middle Ages series"), 1990, p. 33-45; Johannes Kabalek, "Das Kastilische und der alfonsinische Hof. Über Texttraditionen, Sprache und Geschichte", in *Kulturtransfer und Hofgesellschaft im Mittelalter: Wissenskultur am sizilianischen und kastilischen Hof im 13. Jh.*, ed. Gundula Grebner and Johannes Fried, Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 2008, p. 351-366.

to North Africa in the following centuries. However, no late medieval work of North African scholarship proffers a systematic analysis of Latin. Even Ibn Ḥaldūn (d. 808/1406), who certainly knew a lot about the history of the Latin West, and repeatedly commented on linguistic phenomena, did not possess systematic knowledge about the linguistic landscape of the Roman Empire or post-Roman Western Europe.

In the prefatory book (*al-Muqaddima*) to his universal history, written in a first version in North Africa, Ibn Ḥaldūn reduces Western European languages of his period to a single “Frankish language.” When he addresses the problem of reproducing foreign non-Arabic words correctly, explaining that various alphabets contain letters without equivalent in Arabic, he refers to the “language of the Franks” (*luġat al-Ifranġ*).⁶⁴ Since he clearly defines the “Latin writing” (*al-ḥaṭṭ al-laṭīnī*) as “the writing of the Latin Romans” (*ḥaṭṭ al-Rūm al-laṭīniyyīn*), distinguishing it from other non-European scripts,⁶⁵ he must have understood that “Frankish” represented a contemporary, “Latin” an ancient language. His incorrect translation of the title “emperor” as “the crowned one” (*al-mutawwaġ*) proves, however, that he had no real knowledge either of Latin nor of its Romance derivatives.⁶⁶

Ibn Ḥaldūn has more to say about Latin in the chapters on ancient history that form part of his universal history. He is the only medieval Arabic-Islamic scholar to deal with the origins of the Latin alphabet (*ḥurūf al-lisān al-laṭīnī*), allegedly invented by a certain “Karamunus b. Marsiya b. Šayban b. Mazka” around 4050 years after the Creation.⁶⁷ He was also aware that Latin was important to the Romans (*al-Rūm*) who, when they adopted Christianity, allegedly translated the Torah and the Hebrew prophets into Latin (*al-laṭīnī*) to derive legal precepts from these texts, consequently putting much effort into

64 Ibn Ḥaldūn, *Taʾrīḥ*, ed. Suhayl Zakkār and Ḥalīl Šaḥāda, Beirut, Dār al-fikr, 2001, I, p. 44, 312.

65 *Ibid.*, I, p. 730.

66 *Ibid.*, I, p. 292.

67 *Ibid.*, II, p. 232. According to Ibn Ḥaldūn, this statement is allegedly based on the *Kitāb Hurūšiyūš*. However, neither the *Kitāb Hurūšiyūš* nor the Latin version of Orosius' *Historiae adversus paganos* contain a similar statement. “Karamunus” may represent a distortion of “Carmenta”, cf. Isidorus Hispalensis, *Etymologiarum sive originum libri*, ed. Wallace Martin Lindsay, Oxford, E typographeo Clarendoniano (“Scriptorum classicorum bibliotheca Oxoniensis”), 1911; reprint Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1987, lib. I, cap. 1, 3-4: *Latina litteras Carmentis nympha prima Italīs tradidit*. A similar explanation of the origins of the Latin script is provided in ‘Abd al-Qādir’s letter to the French. Cf. Abd el-Kader, *Lettre aux Français*, transl. René R. Khawam, Paris, Libella, 2011, p. 138: “Karmenès, fils d’Hermès, fils de Zeus-Soleil, fils de Kronos”.

the cultivation of this language.⁶⁸ Several passages prove, however, that his linguistic terminology is inconsistent. Julius Caesar and the Hasmonean ruler Hyrcanus II allegedly concluded a bilingual treaty in two languages called *lisān al-Rūm* and *lisān al-Yūnān*. Here, a “language of the Romans” is opposed to that of the “Ionians”, suggesting that *lisān al-Rūm* stands for Latin.⁶⁹ In other passages the language linked to the ethnonym “al-Rūm” is clearly opposed to Latin and thus stands for a form of Greek. According to Ibn Ḥaldūn, the Septuagint was translated from Hebrew (*al-lisān al-‘ibrānī*) to Latin (*al-lisān al-laṭīnī*) and to another “Roman” language, *i.e.* *al-lisān al-rūmī*, which must correspond to Greek in this context.⁷⁰ The emperor Titus allegedly knew Latin (*al-laṭīnī*) and Greek, the latter called *al-Ġarīqī*.⁷¹ Ibn Ḥaldūn was obviously unable to distinguish clearly between Greek and Latin or between different forms of Greek. Since his terminology changes according to context, he may have only reproduced the terminology of his sources. However, his difficulties of discerning ancient Romans from the Byzantines may have played a role as well.⁷²

It is curious that the Latin language, verifiably encountered by the early generations of Arab conquerors,⁷³ should have received so little attention in

68 Ibn Ḥaldūn, *Taʾrīḥ*, I, p. 730-731.

69 *Ibid.*, II, p. 149.

70 *Ibid.*, II, p. 224.

71 *Ibid.*, II, p. 241.

72 In *ibid.*, II, p. 218-237, he tries to understand the origins of the Roman Empire and its interdependence with the Hellenic sphere, using the terms “al-Kaytam”, “al-Rūm” and “al-Laṭīniyyūn”. The following chapter heading (p. 232) clearly reveals his terminological problems: “News on the Latins who are the Kaytam known as al-Rūm” (*al-ḥabar ‘an al-Laṭīniyyūn wa-hum al-Kaytam al-maʾrūfūn bi-l-Rūm*).

73 See Yūsuf Rāḡib, “La plus ancienne lettre arabe de marchand”, in *Documents de l’islam médiéval: Nouvelles perspectives de recherche*, ed. Yūsuf Rāḡib, Le Caire, Institut français d’archéologie orientale (“Textes arabes et études islamiques”, 29), 1991, p. 1-9, on an Arabic letter probably written around al-Qayrawān in the seventh century on a parchment dating from the fifth century that features a fragment of the Book Exodus in Latin. Compare what Leo Africanus says on this in Johannes Leo, *A Geographical Historie of Africa*, transl. John Pory, London, Impensis Georg. Bishop, 1600; Amsterdam-New York, Theatrum Orbis Terrarum-Da Capo Press (“English experience, its record in early printed books published in facsimile”, 133), 1969, book I, p. 28-29: “the Arabians, when they first inuaded Africa and especially Barbarie (which was the principall seate of the Africans) founde no letters nor characters there, beside the Latine. [...] They have certaine ancient authors, who writ partly in the times of the Arrians and partly before their times, the names of all which are cleane forgotten. [...] But when as those which rebelled against the Calipha of Bagdet (as is aforesaid) got the upper hand in Africa, they burnt all the African bookes. For they were of opinion, that the Africans, so long as they had any knowledge of naturall philosophie

high and late medieval North Africa with its close economic and diplomatic connections to various Christian European powers. Ḥammādid, Almohad and Hafsīd rulers and governors received various letters from the popes Gregory VII, Innocent III, Honorius III, Gregory IX and Innocent IV that are still preserved in Latin, although we do not know, if, where and by whom they were translated into Arabic.⁷⁴ Various letters were exchanged with the Italian republics of Pisa, Genoa and Venice as well as with the Crown of Aragon, which are documented in their original (Latin/Romance or Arabic) form and/or in (Latin/Romance or Arabic) translation.⁷⁵ We even dispose of Latin documents, addressed to the representative of a European-Christian maritime power by more humble persons, including traders, who are identified as “Saracen.”⁷⁶ Moreover, various bilingual treaties, also documented in their Latin/Romance and/or Arabic form,⁷⁷ mention interpreters, complex mechanisms ensuring the

or of other good artes and sciences, would every day more and more arrogantly contemne the law of Mahumet.”

74 König, *Arabic-Islamic Views*, p. 256-257.

75 See, for example, Michele Amari, *I Diplomi Arabi del R. Archivio Fiorentino: Testo originale con la traduzione letterale e illustrazioni*, Florence, Felice Le Monnier (“Documenti degli archivi toscani, pubblicati per cura della R. Soprintendenza generale agli archivi medesimi”), 1863, p. 1-6 (ar.: ep. I = lat.: ep. VI, p. 255-256), p. 7-9 (ar.: ep. II = lat.: ep. XIII, p. 269), p. 14-16 (ar.: ep. IV = lat.: ep. XVI, p. 273), p. 23-28 (ar.: ep. VI = lat.: ep. XVIII, p. 276-277), p. 33-35 (ar.: ep. IX = lat.: ep. XIX, p. 278-279), p. 81-82 (ar.: ep. XXVII = lat.: ep. XXIII, p. 284), p. 165-168 (ar.: ep. XXXVII = lat.: ep. XXXVIII, p. 336-337, p. 221-225 (ar.: ep. XLIV = it.: ep. LI, p. 389-390), p. 226-229 (ar.: ep. XLV = it.: ep. LII, p. 391-392). Also see John Wansbrough, “A Mamluk Letter of 877/1473,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 24/2 (1961), p. 200-213, with the Arabic and Italian versions. Andrés Giménez Soler, “Episodios de la Historia de las relaciones entre la Corona de Aragón y Túnez,” *Anuari del Institut d'Estudis Catalans*, 1 (1907), p. 222-224; and Andrés Giménez Soler, “Documentos de Túnez, originales ó traducidos, del archivo de la Corona de Aragón,” *Anuari del Institut d'Estudis Catalans*, 3 (1909-1910), p. 226-227, 229-231, 233-235, 242-243, 244-246, 248-250, 253-254, 255-257, contains Arabic letters with a contemporary Catalan translation.

76 Louis de Mas Latrie, *Traité de paix et de commerce et documents divers concernant les relations des chrétiens avec les Arabes de l'Afrique septentrionale au Moyen Âge*, Paris, Henri Plon, 1866-1872, I, p. 30 (1237): *Illustri et magnifico [...] U. Vicecomiti, Pissarum civitatis potestati, Bec. et Bei. Saraceni, homines magnis regis Tunexi [...] ibid.*, p. 121 (11/07/1251): *Ego Bocherius, Sarracenus et negotiator de Tunexis, promitto et convenio tibi, Conrado de Paxano [...]*.

77 For editions of bilingual treaties see Sylvestre de Sacy, “Pièces diplomatiques tirées des archives de la république de Gênes,” in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la bibliothèque du roi et autres bibliothèques*, Paris, Imprimerie royale, 1827, XI, p. 7-18, 33-46; Amari, *I Diplomi*, p. 1-6 (a. 1157—ar.: doc. I = lat.: doc. VI, p. 255-256), p. 230-236 (a. 1184—ar.: doc. XLVI = lat.: doc. XVII, p. 274-275), p. 98-111 (a. 1353—ar.: doc. XXX = lat.: doc. XXX, p. 303-308),

trustworthiness of translations in front of Muslim and Christian witnesses, finally notaries responsible for writing the final document.⁷⁸ The Muslims involved in the negotiation and ratification of such treaties must have been aware that these documents would receive a Latin form on the Christian side. In some cases, they even seem to have been confronted orally with the Latin language, *e.g.* when the treaty was translated into Latin in front of the assembled witnesses (*fore in latino/in latinum reducta*).⁷⁹ It is unclear what kind of Latin was used in these oral presentations. Given that a notary later gave these oral presentations a “public,” that is an official form (*in publicam formam*), could imply that the spoken language did not necessarily conform to the written form.⁸⁰ In other cases, the Arabic text of the treaty was first translated into the Romance vernacular and then rewritten in Latin by the notary, in which case the Muslim witnesses were probably not confronted with Latin directly.⁸¹ In one case, interpreters with Arabic names checked the “Frankish” translation of a text.⁸² Later treaties of the fourteenth and fifteenth century often exist only

p. 123-136 (a. 1397—ar.: doc. XXXIV = lat.: doc. XXXV, p. 319-325), p. 151-164 (a. 1421—ar.: doc. XXXVI = lat.: doc. XXXVI, p. 326-335); John Wansbrough, “A Moroccan amir’s Commercial Treaty with Venice of the Year 913/1508”, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 25/1-3 (1962), p. 449-471; John Wansbrough, “Venice and Florence in the Mamluk Commercial Privileges”, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 28/3 (1965), p. 483-523; Robert Ignatius Burns and Paul Chevedden, *Negotiating Cultures: Bilingual Surrender Treaties in Muslim-Crusader Spain under James the Conqueror*, Leiden-Boston-Köln, Brill (“The medieval Mediterranean”, 22), 1999.

78 Daniel König, “Übersetzungskontrolle. Regulierung von Übersetzungsvorgängen im lateinisch/romanisch-arabischen Kontext (9.-15. Jahrhundert)”, in *Abrahams Erbe: Konkurrenz, Konflikt und Koexistenz der Religionen im europäischen Mittelalter*, ed. Klaus Oschema, Ludger Lieb and Johannes Heil, Berlin, de Gruyter (“Das Mittelalter, Perspektiven mediävistischer Forschung. Beihefte”, 2), 2015, p. 478-483.

79 *E.g.* Mas Latrie, *Traités de paix et de commerce*, I, p. 215-216 (03/08/1305), p. 220-221 (12/05/1317), p. 236-237 (04/07/1392), p. 248-249 (1427).

80 *Ibid.*, I, p. 215-216 (03/08/1305), p. 220-221 (12/05/1317), p. 236-237 (04/07/1392), p. 248-249 (1427).

81 *Ibid.*, I, p. 189-192: *Cujus instrumenti, transumpti et conversi de arabico in linguam sive loquelam catalanam, sive catalaniscam, legente, interpretante et explanante Johanne Egidii, interprete sive turcimanno, qui linguam sive loquelam et litteram arabicam satis apte et perfecte scit et intellegit ac cognoscit [...]. Signum Bernardi de Pulcro-Vicino, notarii publici, auctoritate excellentissimi domini regis Aragonum in Tunicio, qui hoc translatum fideliter translatavit et fecit, et cum suo originali instrumento, legente et explanante dicto turcimanno, de verbo ad verbum legaliter comprobavit et clausit.*

82 Cf. the Genoese-Mamluk treaty concluded 2 ġumādā I-ūlā 689/13 May 1290 in Michele Amari, *Nuovo ricordi arabici su la storia di Genova*, Genoa, Tipografia del R. Istituto sordo-

in a Romance vernacular that retains a number of Latin formal expressions.⁸³ We can thus assume that diplomatic and economic relations involving written documents acquainted North African Muslims with the Latin language and, increasingly, with written Romance vernaculars. One reason why this does not become apparent in Arabic-Islamic works of the same period has been proposed by Tahar Mansouri. He believes that the Muslims involved in these relations tended to dissimulate this involvement as soon as they composed texts in traditional Arabic-Islamic genres.⁸⁴

The Limited Diffusion of Andalusian Knowledge on Latin in the Middle East (5th/11th-9th/15th c.)

Knowledge acquired about the Latin language in al-Andalus of the late third/ninth to fifth/eleventh centuries also found its way to the Middle East in the following centuries: the Middle Eastern scholar Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a

muti, 1873, p. 16 (ar.): *wa-kataba bayn al-suṭūr bi-l-faranġī nushat dālika saṭr saṭr wa-kalima kalima* [...], p. 63 (it.); *ibid.*, p. 17 (ar.): *wa-qara'a mā fihā min al-qalam al-faranġī al-manqūl ilā l-'arabī* [sic] Šams ad-Dīn 'Abd Allāh al-Manṣūrī *wa-tarġama 'alayhi li-tahqīq al-ta'rīf wa-l-šahāda bi-šihḥatihi Sābiq ad-Dīn al-turġumān wa-'Izz al-Dīn Aybak al-Kabkī l-turġumān fī l-tārīḥ al-maḍkūr*, p. 64-65 (it.).

- 83 In Mas Latrie, *Traité de paix*, I, the treaties of peace and commerce dating 1181 (p. 109-113), 1184 (p. 367-372), 1188 (p. 113-115), 1229 or 1234 (p. 31-35), 1231 (p. 153-155), 1231 (p. 196-199), 1236 (p. 116-118), 1250 (p. 118-121), 1251 (p. 199-202), 1271 (p. 203-206), 1272 (p. 122-125), 1278 (p. 187-188), 1287 (p. 125-127), 1305 (p. 211-216), 1317 (p. 216-21), 1353 (p. 55-65), 1356 (p. 222-228), 1391 (p. 130-132), 1392 (p. 232-237), 1397 (p. 70-87), 1421 (p. 344-354), 1433 (p. 134-142), 1427 (p. 244-249), 1445 (p. 142-144), 1465 (p. 151), are written in Latin, whereas the treaties of peace and commerce dating 1264 (p. 43-47), 1271 (p. 280-284, with Latin elements), 1274 (p. 285-286), 1285 (p. 286-290), 1309 (p. 301-303), 1313 (p. 188-192, with Latin elements), 1314 (p. 304-306), 1314 (p. 306-310), 1323 (p. 319-324), 1339 (p. 192-195), 1358 (p. 66-69), 1397 (p. 70-87), 1438 (p. 250-254), 1456 (p. 255-256), are written in an Italo- or Ibero-Romance vernacular. The treaty of 1397 (p. 70-87) features a contemporary Latin, Italo-Romance and Arabic version. Latin thus remains the dominant written language until the fifteenth century. In this collection, the Crown of Aragon is the earliest power to make regular use of the vernacular from the thirteenth century onwards, whereas the Italian republics generally begin to use the vernacular from the fourteenth century and to favour it from the fifteenth century onwards.

- 84 Mohamed Tahar Mansouri, "Les milieux marchands européens et la langue arabe au Maghreb médiéval", in *Trames de langues: usages et métissages linguistiques dans l'histoire du Maghreb*, ed. Jocelyne Dakhli, Paris-Tunis, Maisonneuve et Larose-Institut de recherche sur le Maghreb contemporain ("Connaissance du Maghreb"), 2004, p. 283.

(d. 668/1270) cited the Andalusian scholar Ibn Ġulġul on the Latin skills of people in al-Andalus.⁸⁵ In the biographical lemma on the Andalusian scholar Ibn Firrū l-Šāṭibī (d. 590/1194 in Cairo), the Middle Eastern scholar Ibn Ḥallikān (d. 681/1281) claims that the word “Firrū” (cf. Spanish *hierro*) signifies “iron” “in the Latin language of the non-Muslim inhabitants of al-Andalus.”⁸⁶ Given that many passages, including references to the Arabic translation of Orosius’ *Historiae adversus paganos* taken from the universal history of Ibn Ḥaldūn, appear in the works of al-Qalqašandī and al-Maqrizī, we may surmise that some of the knowledge available to Ibn Ḥaldūn, himself active in Egypt, became available to Middle Eastern scholars acquainted with this author.⁸⁷

However, Middle Eastern Arabic-Islamic scholarship failed to produce substantial comments on the Latin language. Al-Ġawālīqī’s (d. 540/1144) dictionary *al-Mu’arrab*, for example, deals with many words already mentioned by Ibn Durayd, i.e. *al-iṣṭabl*,⁸⁸ *al-dīnār*,⁸⁹ *al-Rūm*,⁹⁰ *al-siġill*,⁹¹ *al-sayṭal*,⁹² *qayṣar*,⁹³ *al-qūmis*,⁹⁴ introducing only few new words of probable Latin origin, i.e. *al-biṭriq*,⁹⁵ *al-saġanġal*,⁹⁶ *al-šābūn*,⁹⁷ *al-furn*,⁹⁸ *al-fistāt* [sic],⁹⁹ *al-qinṭār*,¹⁰⁰

85 Ibn Abī Uṣaybi’a, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, 11, p. 47.

86 Ibn Ḥallikān, *Wafayāt al-a’yān wa-anbāʾ abnāʾ al-zamān*, ed. Iḥsān ‘Abbās, Beirut, Dār Ṣādir, 1968-1972, IV, § 537, p. 72: *bi-l-luġat al-laṭīnī [sic] min a’āġim al-Andalus*; id., *Ibn Khallikan’s Biographical Dictionary*, transl. William McGuckin de Slane, Paris-London, Oriental Translation Fund, 1843-1871, 11, p. 501.

87 Cf. *Kitāb Hurūṣiyūš*, p. 73-81; König, *Arabic-Islamic Views*, p. 79, 135, 258-259.

88 Al-Ġawālīqī, *Kitāb al-Mu’arrab min al-kalām al-a’ġamī ‘alā hurūf al-mu’ġam*, ed. Eduard Sachau, Leipzig, W. Engelmann, 1867, p. 14: *qāla Ibn Durayd laysa min kalām al-‘Arab [...]*

89 *Ibid.*, p. 62: *al-dīnār fārisī mu’arrab wa-aṣluhu dinnār [...]*.

90 *Ibid.*, p. 73: *al-Rūm hādā al-ġil min al-nās a’ġamī wa-qad takallamat bihi al-‘Arab qadīman wa-naṭaqa bihi al-Qur’ān [...]*.

91 *Ibid.*, p. 87: *qāla l-siġill bi-l-luġat al-Ḥabaša [...] wa-lā ltafattu ilā qawlihim innahu fārisī [...]*

92 *Ibid.*, p. 86: *wa-l-sayṭal a’ġamiyyān*.

93 *Ibid.*, p. 123: *wa-qayṣar ism a’ġamī wa-huwa sm malik min mulūk al-Rūm*.

94 *Ibid.*, p. 117: *qāla Ibn Durayd wa-mimmā aḥaḍūhu min al-Rūmiyya qūmis wa-huwa l-amīr*.

95 *Ibid.*, p. 33-34: *wa-l-biṭriq bi-l-luġat al-Rūm huwa l-qā’id wa-ġamī’uḥu baṭāriqa wa-qad takallamū bihi wa-lammā sami’at al-‘Arab bi-anna l-baṭāriqa ahl ri’āsa šarū yaṣifūn al-ra’īs bi-l-biṭriq wa-innamā yurīdūn bihi l-maḍḥ wa-‘izām al-ša’n [...]*.

96 *Ibid.*, p. 80: *al-saġanġal al-mir’ā bi-l-rūmiyya [...]*.

97 *Ibid.*, p. 98: *wa-l-šābūn a’ġamī*.

98 *Ibid.*, p. 111-112: *al-furn [...] immā rūmiyya immā suryāniyya [...]*.

99 *Ibid.*, p. 114: *wa-l-fistāt fārisī mu’arrab*.

100 *Ibid.*, p. 122-123: *wa-l-qinṭār ma’rūf al-nūn fihi laysat aṣliyya wa-iḥṭalaḥū fihi [...] wa-aḥsab annahu mu’arrab [...]*.

al-quṣṭār,¹⁰¹ *al-qisṭās*,¹⁰² as well as the name “Rūmanis”¹⁰³, all of which stem from a much earlier period of Latin-Arabic contact. Apart from the fact that the dictionary does not provide much new information, its system of linguistic classification remains wanting in that al-Ġawālīqī still defines all words of Latin origin as either ‘*aḡamī*, i.e. “non-Arabic”, or *rūmī*, i.e. Roman, without revealing any knowledge about the difference between Latin and Greek.

Focused on the Arabic language of “classical” texts, al-Ġawālīqī’s dictionary also fails to take note of the increasing impact of Romance languages on the Eastern Mediterranean. The latter, however, does not only become apparent in texts written by non-Muslims, such as an Arabic-French word list in Coptic script from the sixth/twelfth or seventh/thirteenth century,¹⁰⁴ or an Arabic-Castilian glossary in a cursive Hebrew oriental rabbinic script from the ninth/fifteenth century,¹⁰⁵ but also in the occasional transcription of Romance words in Middle Eastern Arabic-Islamic historiography and geography. However, these transcriptions only betray a very restricted knowledge of Romance languages, given that they are mainly restricted to titles and social functions associated with the crusaders or European-Christian merchants: the well-known Usāma b. Munqid̄ (d. 584/1188) claims not to have understood the murmuring of a Frankish woman, and only transliterates the two “Frankish” words “vicomte” (*al-biskund*) and “bourgeois” (*burġāsī*).¹⁰⁶ Transliterations, e.g. of the term “chancellor” (*al-ḥanṣalīr*), is all Ibn al-Aṭīr (d. 630/1233) has to offer.¹⁰⁷ Abū Šāma (d. 665/1268) provides a transcription of the term “comte” (*al-kund*).¹⁰⁸ Copying the Andalusian geographer Ibn Saʿīd (d. 685/1286), Abū l-Fidāʾ

101 *Ibid.*, p. 120: *al-quṣṭār wa-l-qisṭār bi-ḍamm al-qāf wa-kasrihā huwa l-mīzān wa-laysa bi-ʿarabī wa-yuqālu li-l-laḍīyālī umūr al-qarīya wa-šūʿunahā quṣṭār wa-huwa rāġīʾ ilā maʿnā l-mīzān wa-qāla qawm al-quṣṭār al-ṣayrafī wa-qālū l-tāġīr*. This definition comes nearest to the Latin title “quaestor”.

102 *Ibid.*, p. 114: ‘*an Ibn Durayd anna l-quṣṭās al-mīzān rūmī muʿarrab wa-yuqālu qisṭās wa-quṣṭār*’.

103 *Ibid.*, p. 71: *Rūmānis [...] bi-l-Rūmīyya [...]*.

104 Cyril Aslanov, *Le français au Levant, jadis et naguère : à la recherche d'une langue perdue*, Paris, Honoré Champion (“Linguistique française”, 12), 2006, p. 43-76.

105 Hayim Y. Sheynin, “Genizah Fragments of an Unknown Arabic-Castilian Glossary”, *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, 71/3 (1981), p. 151-166.

106 Usāma b. Munqid̄, *Kitāb al-Iʿtibār*, ed. Philip K. Hitti, Princeton, Princeton University Press (“Princeton oriental texts”, 1), 1930, p. 139-141; cf. Aslanov, *Le français*, p. 42-43.

107 Ibn al-Aṭīr, *al-Kāmil fī l-taʾrīḥ*, ed. Carolus Tornberg, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1853-1876, XII, p. 84; Beirut, Dār Šādir, 1965-1967, XII, p. 126 (AH 593).

108 Abū Šāma, *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn fī aḥbār al-dawlatayn*, ed. and transl. Charles Barbier de Meynard, Paris, Imprimerie nationale (“Recueil des historiens des Croisades. Historiens orientaux”, 5), 1906, p. 53.

(d. 732/1331) only refers to Western European languages in connection with the title “emperor.” Both distinguish between two different pronunciations, *i.e.* *al-ambarātūr* or *al-anbaraṭūr* (cf. *imperator*) versus *al-anbarūr* (cf. *empereur*), declaring the latter to be of colloquial origin.¹⁰⁹ However, both authors refrain from mentioning the languages spoken in the emperor’s dominions, *i.e.* “the lands of Germany” (*bilād Almāniyya/al-Lamāniyya*), Abū l-Fidā’ adding that “the names of these places are foreign, and only rarely mentioned among us.”¹¹⁰ Al-‘Umarī (d. 749/1349) and al-Qalqašandī use a transcription of the Romance pronunciation of the title “king of France” (*raydā Farans, al-rīd Ifrans*).¹¹¹ Finally, the word “consul” makes its appearance, not only in several bilateral treaties, but also in Arabic-Islamic historiography: whereas Ibn Ḥaldūn derives a transcription of this term (*al-qanšuluš*) from the Arabic version of Orosius and uses it to explain the distribution of power in the Roman Republic, al-Qalqašandī (d. 821/1418), al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442), and Ibn Ḥaḡar al-‘Asqalānī (d. 852/1449) refer repeatedly to the Genoese and Venetian consul (*al-qunṣul*) in Egypt.¹¹² Although we should consider evidence that points to Middle Eastern Muslims able to communicate with Christian Europeans in a Romance vernacular,¹¹³ all this does not amount up to much systematic knowledge about Romance languages, let alone Latin. The scholar al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), author of a treaty on foreign words in the Qur’ān, was still not able to distinguish between Latin and Greek and continued to employ the umbrella term “al-rūmiyya.”¹¹⁴

109 Ibn Sa‘īd, *Kitāb al-Ğuġrāfiyā*, ed. Ismā‘īl al-‘Arabī, Beirut, al-Maktab al-tiġārī, 1970, p. 193; Abū l-Fidā’, *Taqwīm al-buldān : Géographie d’Aboulféda texte arabe*, ed. Joseph Toussaint Reinaud and William MacGuckin de Slane, Paris, Imprimerie royale, 1840, p. 202: *wa-l-‘amma taqūlu*.

110 *Ibid.*, p. 202: *muġamat al-asmā’ ḥāmilat al-ġikr ‘indanā*.

111 Al-‘Umarī, *Condizioni degli stati cristiani dell’Occidente secondo una relazione di Domenichino Doria da Genova*, ed. and transl. Michele Amari, *Reale Accademia dei Lincei*, 280 (1883), p. 1; al-Qalqašandī, *Kitāb Šubḥ al-a‘šā*, ed. Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Rasūl Ibrāhīm, Cairo, Maṭba‘at dār al-kutub, 1913-1922, v, p. 412, 485; VIII, p. 34, 36, 38.

112 Ibn Ḥaldūn, *Ta’rīḥ*, II, p. 233; al-Qalqašandī, *Šubḥ al-a‘šā*, VIII, p. 123; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-ma‘rifat al-mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Qādir ‘Aṭā, Beirut, Dār al-kutub al-‘ilmiyya, 1998, v, p. 178 (AH 787); Ibn Ḥaḡar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-ġamr bi-anbā’ al-‘umr*, ed. Ḥasan Ḥabašī, Cairo, Laġnat iḥyā’ al-turāṭ al-islāmī, 1969, I, p. 301 (AH 787). Note that Bertold Spuler, “*Qunṣul*”, *Er²*, does not take note of references to the ancient Roman consul, only mentions the medieval Italian consul in passing, and focuses on consular activity in the Ottoman Empire.

113 Cf. König, *Arabic-Islamic Views*, p. 65-68, 83-86.

114 Al-Suyūṭī, *Mutawakkilī*, p. 22-23, with short references to the terms *al-qisṭ*, *al-qusṭās*, *al-širāṭ*.

A Lacking Basis for Early Modern Arabic-Islamic Scholarship on Latin (11th/17th c.)

Although Andalusian scholarship of the third/ninth to fifth/eleventh century produced a few comments on the Latin language, this rather limited knowledge was scarcely acknowledged by later Andalusian, North African and Middle Eastern Muslim scholarship. We must conclude that the medieval Arabic-Islamic scholarly tradition did not lay the basis for a systematic study of the Latin language in the Arabic-Islamic sphere of the early modern and modern age. In most cases, not even the little knowledge unearthed by the aforementioned Andalusian scholars, appears in later works. The writings of the North African historiographer al-Maqqarī (d. 1041/1632) and of the Middle Eastern scholar al-Ḥafāḡī (d. 1069/1659) provide examples.

Focusing on the languages used by the Muslims of al-Andalus, al-Maqqarī concedes, in line with Ibn Ḥaldūn,¹¹⁵ that the spoken form of Arabic on the peninsula considerably deviated from the standardized written form. However, he does not define the linguistic influences that had an impact on Andalusī Arabic and only feels compelled to emphasize that Andalusī written culture completely adhered to the norms of “pure” Arabic.¹¹⁶ His explanation of the Andalusian-Arabic term *al-lub* (cf. Spanish *lobo*, i.e. wolf), which is devoid of any reference to Romance languages, features a case in point.¹¹⁷ We cannot prove that al-Maqqarī was unaware of the existence of Latin or various forms of Ibero-Romance which, in his time, had already long matured to become Castilian, Catalan, and Galician-Portuguese. However, al-Maqqarī refrains from going into details with regards to these languages. In the few passages in which he refers to Romance languages, he speaks of “their language” (*bi-luḡatihim*), e.g. when providing an etymology of the toponym “Granada,”¹¹⁸ or when providing the Arabic equivalent “Ya‘qūb” for the Romance “Yāqub” in a passage on the origins of the cult of Santiago de Compostela.¹¹⁹ When defining the

¹¹⁵ Ibn Ḥaldūn, *Ta’rīḥ*, I, p. 770-771.

¹¹⁶ Al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb min ghuṣn al-Andalus al-raṭīb*, ed. Iḥsān ‘Abbās, Beirut, Dār Ṣādir, 1988, I, p. 221-222; *id.*, *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, transl. Pascual de Gayangos, London, W.H. Allen & Co., 1840-1843, I, book 2, chap. 3, p. 142-143. Cf. *id.*, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, VII, p. 15, where he speaks of *luḡatuhum al-mustaḡama*.

¹¹⁷ Al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, I, p. 199: *wa-lahā sabu’ yu’rafu bi-l-lub* [...].

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, I, p. 147; *id.*, *The History*, I, book 1, chap. 2, p. 43.

¹¹⁹ *Id.*, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, I, p. 414: *wa-Yāqub bi-lisānihim Ya‘qūb* [...]; cf. *id.*, *History*, I, book 1, chap. 5, p. 75. According to the translation of this passage (?), al-Maqqarī equates the term *šant* to the Arabic *masǧid*, i.e. mosque: “for Shant, in the language of the Christians, means a temple, a place of worship, and is an equivalent of our word *masǧid* (mosque).”

language used by the pope in the presence of a Muslim delegation, he speaks of the latter's "obscure speech" (*kalām mu'jam*).¹²⁰ The language of Caesar, alleged founder of Toledo, is merely defined as "his language."¹²¹ Passages copied from Ibn Ḥaldūn contain the ethnonym "the Latins" (*al-Lāṭīniyyūn*), but betray no knowledge about the Latin language.¹²²

Even linguistic works of this period that specialize on Arabic words of foreign origin such as the *Šifā' al-ǧalīl fīmā fī kalām al-'Arab min al-daḥīl* by the Middle Eastern scholar Šihāb al-Dīn al-Ḥafāǧī¹²³ (d. 1069/1659), do not show any sign of having assimilated new available knowledge on Latin or Romance languages. In spite of the important role of European *fondacos* in the late medieval and early modern Muslim world, al-Ḥafāǧī provides no Greek etymology for the word *funduq* and is not aware of its use in Romance languages (*fondaco*).¹²⁴ If compared to the *ǧamharat al-luǧa* by Ibn Durayd (see Table 2), written several centuries before, al-Ḥafāǧī's linguistic analyses occasionally cannot measure up: the word *iṣṭabl*, defined as non-Arabic by Ibn Durayd, is attributed to "the language of the people of Syria" (*bi-luǧat ahl al-Šām*) by al-Ḥafāǧī.¹²⁵ In other cases, al-Ḥafāǧī merely reproduces knowledge already held by Ibn Durayd: the terms *dīnār* (< *denarius*), *qisṭās* (< *constans*), *qūmis* (< *comes*) and *qayṣar* (< *caesar*) are also defined as Arabicized words, whose origin—with the exception of the uncommented term *dīnār*, is defined as "Roman" (*rūmī*).¹²⁶ Like Ibn Durayd, al-Ḥafāǧī has no knowledge of the Latin-Greek origins of the term *siǧill*, and speculates on its Abyssinian (*ḥabašī*) origins.¹²⁷ In line with Ibn Durayd, the term *ʿaskar* (< *exercitus*) is declared to be of Persian origin.¹²⁸ The inclusion

120 *Id.*, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, II, p. 201. On this passage cf. König, *Arabic-Islamic Views*, p. 255-256.

121 Al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, I, p. 161: *wa-sammāhā qayṣar bi-lisānihi* [...]; *id.*, *The History*, I, book 1, chap. 2, p. 47.

122 *Id.*, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, I, p. 147: *ba'da ḥurūb lahum ma'a l-Laṭīniyyīn* [...] *wa-lammā aḥaḍa l-Rūm wa-l-Laṭīniyyīn bi-millat al-naṣrāniyya* [...].

123 On his biography see Geert Jan Van Gelder, "Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ḥafāǧī", in *Essays in Arabic Literary Biography 1350-1850*, ed. Joseph E. Lowry and Devin J. Stewart, Wiesbaden, Harrasowitz, 2009, p. 251-61.

124 Al-Ḥafāǧī, *Šifā' al-ǧalīl fīmā fī kalām al-'Arab min al-daḥīl*, ed. Muḥammad Kaššāš, Beirut, Dār al-kutub al-ʿilmiyya, 1998, lemma *funduq*, p. 231; probably copied from al-Ǧawālīqī, *al-Mu'arrab*, p. 109.

125 Al-Ḥafāǧī, *Šifā' al-ǧalīl*, p. 78.

126 *Ibid.*, lemma *dīnār*, p. 149: *mu'arrab*, without indication of origin; lemma *qisṭās*, p. 239: *rūmī mu'arrab*; lemma *qūmis*, p. 240: *mu'arrab min al-Rūmiyya*; lemma *qayṣar*, p. 242: *mu'arrab min al-Rūmiyya*.

127 *Ibid.*, p. 173.

128 *Ibid.*, p. 212: *mu'arrab laṣkar*.

of some terms not mentioned by Ibn Durayd shows that al-Ḥafāḡī also made use of other reference works—without, however, contributing significantly to a better understanding of the role of Latin for the Arabic language. Thus, the term *barīd* (< *veredus*) is defined as Persian;¹²⁹ the terms *qandīl* (< *candela*) and *siġn* (< *signum*) are mentioned, but not analysed.¹³⁰ A few terms of Latin origin not mentioned by Ibn Durayd are described as being Arabicized (*mu'arrab*), i.e. the terms *fustāt* (< *fossatum*)¹³¹ and *qinṭār* (< *centenarium*),¹³² while others are clearly defined as being of Roman origin, i.e. *biṭrīq* (< *patricius*), and *qānūn* (< *canon*).¹³³ Merely the inclusion of the term “Faranġ”, not defined in linguistic terms, but linked to the country of France¹³⁴, shows that al-Ḥafāḡī looked farther to the west than his earlier Abbasid colleague Ibn Durayd.

Middle Eastern Enclaves of Latin Learning: Ottoman Science and Ecclesiastical Circles (11th/17th–13th/19th c.)

Al-Ḥafāḡī's lack of knowledge about Latin should not imply that knowledge about this language had gone completely lost in Arabic-Islamic scholarship. It is in the biobibliographical encyclopedia *Kašf al-ẓunūn 'an asāmī l-kutub wa-l-funūn* by the Ottoman scholar Ḥāġġī Ḥalīfa or Kātib Čelebī (d. 1068/1657), a scholar involved in the translation of Latin geographical works into Ottoman, that we find two curt references to the Latin language. In one passage, Ḥāġġī Ḥalīfa mentions the Latin language in connection with Greek, the ancient language of science par excellence.

The language of the earlier scholars (*qudamā'ihim*, referring to *ahl al-'ilm*) is called Greek (*al-iġrīqiyya*) and is one of the most developed languages, whereas the language of the later scholars (*al-muta'ahḡirīn*) is called Latin (*al-laṭīnī*), since they constitute two groups—the Greeks and the Latins.¹³⁵

129 *Ibid.*, p. 87: *kalima fārisiyya*.

130 *Ibid.*, p. 180, 243.

131 *Ibid.*, p. 228: *li-l-ḥayma mu'arrab*.

132 *Ibid.*, p. 242: *qinṭār: mu'arrab 'inda ba'ḏihim*.

133 *Ibid.*, lemma *baṭrīq*, p. 85: *qā'īd al-Rūm mu'arrab*; p. 239: *qānūn: rūmī mu'arrab ma'nāhu l-aṣl wa-l-qā'ida*.

134 *Ibid.*, p. 229. It should be noted, however, that the terms “Ifraṅġ”, “Ifraṅġa”, “Faranġ” etc. feature already in the earliest extant works of Arabic-Islamic geo-, ethno- and historiography, cf. König, *Arabic-Islamic Views*, p. 189–230.

135 Ḥāġġī Ḥalīfa, *Lexicon bibliographicum et encyclopaedicum*, ed. Gustav Fluegel, Leipzig-London, Oriental Translation Fund, 1835, I, p. 72: *wa-luġat qudamā'ihim tusammā*

In the other passage, he refers to Latin in connection with the Arabic translation of Orosius' *Historiae adversus paganos*. The entry reads:

The book of Orosius, the master of stories. This is a history of the rulers of the Romans (*mulūk al-Rūm*) as well as those sent to them from among the prophets, which was [written] in the Latin language (*bi-l-lisān al-laṭīnī*).¹³⁶

These references to the Latin language have to be seen in the context of an Ottoman intellectual environment open to traditional Arabic-Islamic, but also to modern European influences. Already in the ninth/fifteenth century, several Latin treatises had been dedicated to the Ottoman sultan Mehmed II.¹³⁷ Hāğgī Ḥalīfa was actively involved in the translation of various Latin texts on geography into Ottoman Turkish, assisted by a French convert named Mehmet.¹³⁸ Apart from this unique indication that Latin scientific literature was appreciated by a Muslim scholar versed in the Arabic-Islamic literary tradition, albeit in an environment increasingly marked by Italian and French,¹³⁹ Latin does not seem to have been of particular importance to Middle Eastern Muslims of the Early Modern Period. It did, however, play an important role in Oriental

l-iğrīqīyya wa-hiya min awsa' al-luğāt wa-luğat al-muta'aḥḥirīn tusammā l-laṭīnī li-annahum firqatān al-Iğrīqīyyūn wa-l-Laṭīnīyyūn.

- 136 *Ibid.*, v, p. 171-72: *kitāb Hurūšīš šāḥib al-qīṣaṣ wa-huwa ta'rīḥ mulūk al-Rūm wa-qīṣaṣ al-mab'ūṭ ilayhim min al-anbiyā' wa-kāna bi-l-lisān al-laṭīnī.*
- 137 Mevhibe Pinar Emiralioğlu, *Geographical Knowledge and Imperial Culture in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*, Farnham, Ashgate ("Transculturalisms, 1400-1700"), 2014, p. 72.
- 138 Sonja Brentjes, "Mapmaking in Ottoman Istanbul between 1650 and 1750: A Domain of Painters, Calligraphers or Cartographers?", in *Frontiers of Ottoman Studies*, ed. Colin Imber, Keiko Kiyotaki and Rhoads Murphey, London, I.B. Tauris ("Library of Ottoman studies", 6), 2005, II, p. 126-132; Emiralioğlu, *Geographical Knowledge*, p. 149-151.
- 139 Henry Romanos Kahane, Renée Kahane and Andreas Tietze, *The Lingua franca in the Levant: Turkish Nautical Terms of Italian and Greek Origin*, Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1958; Manfred Trummer, "Südosteuropäische Sprachen und Romanisch", in *Lexikon der Romanistischen Linguistik*, ed. Günter Holtus, Michael Metzeltin and Christian Schmitt, Tübingen, Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1998, VII [*Kontakt, Migration und Kunstsprachen—Kontrastivität, Klassifikation und Typologie*], p. 149-155; Aslanov, *Le français*, p. 143-184; Johann Strauss, "Diglossie dans le domaine ottoman: évolution et péripéties d'une situation linguistique", *Revue du monde musulman et de la Méditerranée*, 75-76 (1995), p. 249-251; Johann Strauss, "Funktionsgebundenheit von Einzelsprachen und die Rolle von Übersetzungen am Beispiel des Osmanischen Reiches", in *Übersetzung*, II/2, p. 1244-1247; cf. Tijana Krstić, "Of Translation and Empire. Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Imperial Interpreters as Renaissance Go-Betweens", in *The Ottoman World*, ed. Christine Woodhead, London, Routledge ("The Routledge worlds"), 2012, p. 130-140.

Christian circles of the tenth/sixteenth to nineteenth century that maintained regular relations with the Vatican.

In the papal orbit, proposals to invest into linguistic education for missionary reasons were already formulated at the beginning of the fourteenth century.¹⁴⁰ It is only in the tenth/sixteenth and eleventh/seventeenth century, however, that these plans were developed and implemented systematically.¹⁴¹ The *Congregatio de propaganda fide*, founded 1622, oversaw and organized missionary activity, among other things by training missionaries in Arabic and sending them to the Middle East.¹⁴² Roman colleges such as the *Collegium Maronitum*, founded 1584, and the *Collegio Urbano*, founded 1627, accommodated and educated Christian youths from the Middle East in the Catholic faith while training them in Italian and Latin, with the aim of sending them back home as Catholic missionaries.¹⁴³ Latin as the traditional language of the Roman Church played an important role in the effort to subject various Oriental churches to papal tutelage: linguistic aids such as Latin-Arabic bibles were sent to Christian, especially Maronite communities in the Middle East interested in establishing relations with the *Congregatio de propaganda fide*.¹⁴⁴ Moreover, a large number of Latin texts were translated into Arabic, sometimes in Arabic script, sometimes in *Karšūnī*, both by European missionaries as well

140 Georg Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca apostolica vaticana ("Studi e testi", 147), 1944-1951, IV, p. 171-172; Tolan, "Porter la bonne parole", p. 533-548.

141 See the overviews by Heyberger, *Les chrétiens du Proche-Orient*, p. 338-379; Aurélien Girard, "Entre croisade et politique culturelle au Levant: Rome et l'union des chrétiens syriens (première moitié du XVII^e siècle)", in *Papato et politica internazionale nella prima età moderna*, ed. Maria Antonietta Visceglia, Rome, Viella ("I Libri di Viella", 153), 2013, p. 419-437.

142 Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, IV, p. 172-173; Heyberger, *Les chrétiens*, p. 338-377; Giovanni Pizzorusso, "Tra cultura e missione. La congregazione de *Propaganda Fide* e le scuole di lingua araba nel XVII secolo", in *Rome et la science moderne entre Renaissance et Lumières*, ed. Antonella Romano, Rome, École française de Rome ("Collection de l'École française de Rome", 403), 2009, p. 121-152; Aurélien Girard, "Des manuels de langue entre mission et érudition orientaliste au XVII^e siècle: les grammaires de l'arabe des Caracciolini", *Studi medievali e moderni*, 14/1 (2010), p. 279-296; *id.*, "L'enseignement de l'arabe à Rome au XVIII^e siècle", in *Maghreb-Italie: des passeurs médiévaux à l'orientalisme moderne, XII^e-milieu XX^e siècle*, ed. Benoît Grévin, Rome, École française de Rome ("Collection de l'École française de Rome", 439), 2010, p. 209-234.

143 Heyberger, *Les chrétiens*, p. 408-431.

144 *E.g.* ten Latin-Arabic bibles sent to the Maronite Patriarch Ġibrā'il Blawzāwī in 1705, six Latin-Arabic bibles to the Maronite Patriarch Ya'qūb 'Awwād in 1708, cf. Heyberger, *Les chrétiens*, p. 406-407.

as by Middle Eastern Christians active either in Rome or in the Middle East.¹⁴⁵ References to these translations are dispersed in Georg Graf's *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*.¹⁴⁶ Drawing these references together allows to paint the following picture.

In this Middle Eastern Christian milieu, Latin-Arabic translations were produced from the ninth/fifteenth century onwards. In the ninth/fifteenth century, the number of translations was still rather low. Aside from the papal decree *Cantate Domino*, of relevance because of the ultimately ineffective union of the Roman-Catholic and the Coptic church, all translations known to Graf were produced by a certain Ġibrāʾīl al-Qulāʾī who translated a collection of papal bulls issued since the thirteenth century, the Apocalypse of John, Jerome's letter to Eustochium (ep. 22) as well as Anselm of Canterbury's treatise on free will.¹⁴⁷ The number of translations augmented slightly in the tenth/sixteenth century. They comprise an Arabic-Latin and a Latin-Arabic dictionary, various explanations of the Roman-Catholic faith, various formulae, another translation of the papal bull *Cantate Domino*—this time of relevance in connection with the union of the Roman-Catholic with the Jacobite, Greek and Armenian churches, finally the Latin canons of the first Maronite synod.¹⁴⁸

The eleventh/seventeenth to thirteenth/nineteenth century then witnessed an explosion of the number of translations. Aside from several dictionaries¹⁴⁹ and a grammar of the Latin language,¹⁵⁰ we encounter papal bulls¹⁵¹ and

145 Note one exception: The English Orientalist Edward Pococke translated Hugo Grotius, *De veritate religionis Christianae*, into Arabic, published London 1733, 1735, 1833, cf. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, IV, p. 277.

146 Translations from French, Italian or Spanish are ignored, unless they concern classical works of Latin literature.

147 Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, III, p. 317-321, 325-326; IV, p. 118.

148 *Ibid.*, III, p. 336, 341, 501-502; IV, p. 11, 213, 258, 270-271.

149 *Ibid.*, III, p. 343 [Arabic-Latin dictionary, transl. Naṣr Allāh Šalaq al-ʿĀqūrī and Ġibrāʾīl al-Šahyūnī, in Rome (?), ca 1612-1613]; *ibid.*, IV, p. 218 [Italian-French-Latin-Greek-Arabic dictionary, transl. Jérôme Queyrot, in Aleppo, before 1634], p. 177 [Arabic-Latin-Italian dictionary, transl. Dominicus Germanus, approbated by Sarkīs al-Ruzzi and Ishāq al-Šidrāwī, Rome, 1639], p. 181 [Latin-Arabic-Turkish dictionary, transl. François Courtois, Aleppo, ca 1678-1679], p. 185 [Arabic-Latin glossary of philosophical and theological terms, transl. A.M. Corgiada, Aleppo, 1729].

150 *Ibid.*, III, p. 436 [transl. from the Italian by Sarkī l-Ġamrī, Aleppo, before 1745]

151 *Ibid.*, III, p. 337-338 [*Cantate Domino*, transl. Sarkīs b. Mūsā l-Ruzzi, Rome, 1607-1638]; IV, p. 269 [prohibition to participate in Free Masonry, transl. anonymous, printed Rome, 1794].

decrees,¹⁵² acts of church councils,¹⁵³ decisions of the *Congregatio de propaganda fide*,¹⁵⁴ Roman-Catholic prayers¹⁵⁵ and liturgical texts,¹⁵⁶ treatises on the sacraments,¹⁵⁷ exorcism¹⁵⁸ and pastoral care,¹⁵⁹ catechisms,¹⁶⁰ excerpts from Christian Holy Scripture,¹⁶¹ polyglot bibles¹⁶² as well as the Vulgata,¹⁶³ Lives of Jesus and Mary¹⁶⁴ as well as of various saints¹⁶⁵ such as Vincent of Saragossa¹⁶⁶ (d. ca 304), Dominic of Osma¹⁶⁷ (d. 1221), Thomas a Kempis¹⁶⁸ (d. 1471) and Teresa of Ávila¹⁶⁹ (d. 1582). Among the translations we also find bilingual Latin-Arabic expositions of the faith¹⁷⁰ as well as works of polemic

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- 152 *Ibid.*, III, p. 445, 449 [concerning the Lebanese synod of Luwayza (1736)]; IV, p. 257 [ten encyclicae of pope Leo XIII, anonymous, printed Jerusalem, 1893].
- 153 *Ibid.*, IV, p. 183 [Chalcedonense, transl. Franciscus Maria de Salemi, David of St. Charles, Buṭrus Mubārak, Cairo-Rome, ca 1689-1692], p. 269 [Ferrara-Florence, anonymous, Aleppo, 18th cent.]; *ibid.*, III, p. 398 [Tridentinum, Buṭrus al-Tūlāwī or al-Tūlānī, Aleppo, ca 1720], p. 162 [Constantinople and Nicaea II, transl. Rufāʿil al-Ṭūḥī, Rome, 1767-1768]; p. 235 [Jean Cabassut (d. 1685), *Notitia Conciliorum S. Ecclesiae*, transl. Ġirmānūs Ādam, 1780, monastery of Zūq Mikāʿil]; *ibid.*, III, p. 507 [Latin acts of Maronite synods and related documents, transl. Yūsuf Nağm, printed Ġūniya, 1900]; IV, p. 269 [Tridentinum, anonymous, date and place unknown].
- 154 *Ibid.*, IV, p. 269 [on Christians of Byzantine rite, place unknown, ca 1730].
- 155 *Ibid.*, III, p. 391; IV, p. 110, 247, 270.
- 156 *Ibid.*, III, p. 287, 343, 416; IV, p. 198, 256, 270.
- 157 *Ibid.*, III, p. 224, 386; IV, p. 222.
- 158 *Ibid.*, III, p. 473 [Giovanni Pietro Pinamonti (d. 1732), *Exorcista rite edoctus, seu accurata methodus omne maleficiorum genus probe, ac prudenter curandi*, transl. Ignatius Šarābiyya, place unknown, before 1747].
- 159 *Ibid.*, III, p. 225 [anonymous, transl. Sulaymān al-Lāḍiqī, place unknown, 1771].
- 160 *Ibid.*, III, p. 225, 432 [*Catechismus Romanus* of the Council of Trent, transl. Yaʿqūb Arūtīn, Dionysius Ḥağğār, printed Rome, 1786]; IV, p. 267 [Excerpts from the *Catechismus Romanus* of the Council of Trent, anonymous, printed Beirut, 1859]; III, p. 497 [*Catechismus Romanus*, transl. Yūsuf Ḍāhir al-Bustānī, printed Beirut, 1891].
- 161 *Ibid.*, I, p. 136, 198.
- 162 *Ibid.*, I, p. 97 [edition of the *Congregatio de propaganda fide*, Rome, 1671].
- 163 *Ibid.*, I, p. 97; IV, p. 161 [transl. Rufāʿil al-Ṭūḥī, printed Rome, 1752].
- 164 *Ibid.*, III, p. 380 [transl. Buṭrus b. Dūmīṭ b. Maḥlūf].
- 165 *Ibid.*, IV, p. 162 [*Martyriologium Romanum*, transl. Rufāʿil al-Ṭūḥī, Rome, 1763].
- 166 *Ibid.*, IV, p. 266 [anonymous, place unknown, 19th c.].
- 167 *Ibid.*, IV, p. 266 [anonymous, place unknown, 19th c.].
- 168 *Ibid.*, III, p. 399 [transl. Buṭrus al-Tūlāwī, Aleppo, ca 1705].
- 169 *Ibid.*, III, p. 399 [Hieronymus, *Vita S. Theresiae*, transl. Buṭrus al-Tūlāwī, Aleppo, 1720]; IV, p. 249 [excerpts, anonymous, Syria, 18th c.].
- 170 *Ibid.*, IV, p. 197.

and apologetic content. The writings of Bonaventura Malvasia (d. 1666), Filippo Guadagnoli (d. 1656), Luigi Marraci¹⁷¹ (d. 1700), Tyrsus González de Santalla¹⁷² (d. 1705) and Jean Baptiste de Saint-Aignan¹⁷³ (d. 1767) are directed against Islam, others against protestantism¹⁷⁴ or against those doubting the Roman-Catholic faith.¹⁷⁵ Aside from this large number of works concentrating on the Christian faith as such, we also encounter translations of early modern ecclesiastical historiography¹⁷⁶ and, in one exceptional case, the translation of a Latin inscription by emperor Marcus Aurelius found north of Beirut.¹⁷⁷ In addition to the occasional Greek church father rendered into Arabic on the basis of a Latin translation,¹⁷⁸ an impressive number of excerpts and entire works written by Latin-Christian authors, preferably from the tenth/sixteenth to twelfth/eighteenth century, were translated into Arabic in the course of the eleventh/seventeenth to the thirteenth/nineteenth century, as Table 3 shows. The emergence of a sizeable number of Middle Eastern Christians able to deal with Latin texts¹⁷⁹ as well as the large number of Latin-Arabic translations produced in this context neither had an immediate nor a very great impact upon

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- 171 *Ibid.*, III, p. 432 [*Prodromus ad refutationem Alcorani*, transl. Ya'qūb Arūtūn, Aleppo (?), 1724].
- 172 *Ibid.*, III, p. 431 [*Manductio ad conversionem Mahumetorum*, transl. Ya'qūb Arūtūn or Ġirġis b. Amīn, Aleppo (?), 1724].
- 173 *Ibid.*, IV, p. 252-253 [Bonaventura Malvasia, *Dilucidatio speculi verum monstrantis* [...], Rome, 1628; Philippo Guadagnoli, *Apologia pro christiana religione*, Rome, 1637], p. 199 [c. *Praecipue objectiones* [...], Rome, 1679-1680].
- 174 *Ibid.*, IV, p. 225 [excerpts from the works of Leonhardus Lessius and Martinus Becanus, transl. Pierre Fromage, place unknown, before 1740].
- 175 *Ibid.*, III, p. 398-399 [anonymous, transl. Buṭrus al-Tulāwī, Aleppo, before 1745].
- 176 *Ibid.*, IV, p. 197-198 [Henricus Spondanus (d. 1643), *Annales ecclesiastici Caesaris Baronii in epitomen redacti*, and *Continuationes annalium ecclesiasticorum*, transl. Britius de Vienne, Damascus, ca 1644; printed Rome, 1653 and 1671], p. 198 [Britius Viennensis, *Annalium sacrorum a creatione mundi ad Christi D.N. incarnationem. Eitome latino-arabica*, Rome, 1655], p. 247 [*History of the general church councils until the council of Florence*, transl. Iohannis Carmelitus, Aleppo, ca 1662]; III, p. 293 [*History of the world from the beginnings to 1805*, anonymous, place unknown, early 19th c.].
- 177 *Ibid.*, III, p. 371 [transl. Iṣṭifān al-Duwayhī, Rome (?), ca 1684].
- 178 *Ibid.*, I, p. 333 [Psalm-commentary by Gregory of Nyssa, anonymous, place unknown, 1734], p. 332; IV, p. 161 [homilies, transl. Rufā'īl al-Ṭūhī, Rome, 1763-1764].
- 179 Cf. Aurélien Girard, "Quand les maronites écrivaient en latin: Fauste Nairon et la République des lettres (seconde moitié du XVII^e siècle)", in *Le latin des maronites*, ed. Mireille Issa, Kaslik, Pusek, 2016.

TABLE 3 *Translations of Latin authors into Arabic produced by Oriental Christians and Catholic missionaries (17th/18th-19th c.)*

Late antique and medieval authors	Ambrose of Milan ^a (d. 397), (pseudo-)Augustine of Hippo ^b (d. 430), pope Leo I ^c (d. 461), pope Gregory I ^d (d. 604), Petrus Damiani ^e (d. 1072), Bernard of Clairvaux ^f (d. 1153), Bonaventura ^g (d. 1274), Thomas Aquinas ^h (d. 1274), Thomas a Kempis ⁱ (d. 1471)
Early modern authors	Giovanni Maldonado ^j (d. 1538), Ignatius of Loyola ^k (d. 1556), Teresa of Ávila ^l (d. 1582), Cesare Baronio ^m (d. 1607), Roberto Bellarmino ⁿ (d. 1621), Luis de la Puente ^o (d. 1624), Thomas a Jesu ^p (d. 1627), Jacobus Tirinus ^q (d. 1636), Cornelius a Lapide ^r (d. 1637), Giovanni Stefano Menochio ^s (d. 1655), Vincent de Paul ^t (d. 1660), Honoré de Tournely ^u (d. 1729), Jean-Claude de la Poype Vertrieu ^v (d. 1732), Luis Antonio Belluga y Moncada ^w (d. 1743), Paul-Gabriel Antoine ^x (d. 1743), Prosper Lambertini ^y (d. 1758), Nicolao Terzagio ^z (d. 1761), Thomas de Charmes ^{aa} (d. 1765), François Jacquier ^{bb} (d. 1788), Charles François Lhomond ^{cc} (d. 1794), Sigismund von Storchenau ^{dd} (d. 1798)
Modern authors	Johann Hermann Janssens ^{ee} (d. 1853), Jean Pierre Gury ^{ff} (d. 1866), Giovanni Perrone ^{gg} (d. 1876), Joseph Ludwig Dmowski ^{hh} (d. 1879), Gregorius Joseph ⁱⁱ (d. 1897)

a *Ibid.*, III, p. 349 [excerpts, ca 1650 by Ishāq al-Šidrāwī]; IV, p. 259 [excerpts, anonymous, place unknown, ca 1813].

b *Ibid.*, III, p. 349 [excerpts, ca 1650 by Ishāq al-Šidrāwī]; IV, p. 256 [*Enchiridon, epistulae, De fide et symbolo, De fide et operibus*, anonymous, Aleppo, 1737]; III, p. 218 [*Confessiones and Soliloquia*, transl. Leontius Sālim from Italian, Rome, by 1755]; IV, p. 161-162 [*Sermones*, transl. Rufā'il al-Ṭūḥī, Rome, 1777-1780]; III, p. 218 [*Manuale*, transl. Leontius Sālim from Italian, Rome, 1780], p. 218 [130 *sermones ad populum*, transl. Irmīyā Karāma, Beirut, ca 1781]; III, p. 495 [excerpts, transl. Anṭūn Aṣāf and Yūḥannā l-Ḥulūw, printed Beirut, 1867-1868].

c *Ibid.*, IV, p. 162 [selections, transl. Rufā'il al-Ṭūḥī, Rome, after 1753-1755].

d *Ibid.*, IV, p. 259 [excerpts, anonymous, place unknown, ca 1813].

e *Ibid.*, IV, p. 265 [*Laus eremiticae vitae*, falsely published under the name of Basilus the Great: *ḥiṭāb li-l-qiddīs Bāsilyūs al-kabīr fī l-sira l-rahbānīyya*, anonymous, printed 1914].

f *Ibid.*, III, p. 349 [excerpts, ca 1650 by Ishāq al-Šidrāwī]; p. 222 [Homily on the passion of Christ, transl. Yūḥannā b. 'Aṭā' Allāh b. Zinda, Aleppo, ca 1707]; IV, p. 264 [*Liber de modo bene vivendi*, anonymous, place and date unknown].

g *Ibid.*, III, p. 349 [excerpts, ca 1650 by Ishāq al-Šidrāwī], p. 286 [*Legenda maior S. Francisci*, transl. Leonhard al-Naḥw, printed Jerusalem, 1882].

h *Ibid.*, III, p. 349 [excerpts, ca 1650 by Ishāq al-Šidrāwī]; IV, p. 256 [excerpts from *Summa contra gentiles*, *Summa theologica*, *De verbo incarnato*, anonymous, 17th c., Syria-Lebanon (?)]; III, p. 394 [excerpts, ca 1698-1745 by Buṭrus al-Tūlāwī, Aleppo]; IV, p. 41, 44, 50 [*Summa theologica*, transl. Ishāq b. Ġubayr, Istanbul-Rome, ca 1708]; III, p. 472 [*Summa theologica*, transl. Buṭrus Kārūz, Aleppo (?), ca 1721].

- i *Ibid.*, IV, p. 244 [*De imitatione Christi libri quattuor*, transl. Coelestin a. S. Lidwina, Syria, ca 1638, printed Rome, 1663].
- j *Ibid.*, III, p. 491 [excerpts, transl. Yūsuf Ilyās al-Dibs, printed Beirut, 1868].
- k *Ibid.*, IV, p. 224 [*Exercitia spiritualia*, transl. Pierre Fromage, Aleppo or Sidon, 1731].
- l *Ibid.*, IV, p. 249 [excerpts, anonymous, Syria, 18th c.].
- m *Ibid.*, IV, p. 259 [excerpts, anonymous, place unknown, ca 1813].
- n *Ibid.*, III, p. 349 [excerpts, transl. Ishāq al-Šidrāwī, ca 1650]; IV, p. 224 [*Explanatio in Psalmos*, transl. Pierre Fromage, place unknown, before 1740], p. 225 [*Catechismus*, transl. Pierre Fromage, place unknown, before 1740], p. 438-439 [excerpts, transl. Stephanus Achilles, Rome, 1746]; IV, p. 259 [excerpts, anonymous, place unknown, ca 1813].
- o *Ibid.*, IV, p. 224 [*Meditationes de praecipuis fidei nostrae mysteriis*, transl. Pierre Fromage, Aleppo, 1729].
- p *Ibid.*, IV, p. 133 [*De procuranda salute omnium gentium*, transl. Yūsuf Abū Ḍaqaṇ, Leuven, ca 1615-1617].
- q *Ibid.*, III, p. 247 [*Commentarium in sacram scripturam*, transl. Anṭūn al-Šabbāḡ, Aleppo, 1760s-90s]; IV, p. 259 [excerpts, anonymous, place unknown, ca 1813]; III, p. 491 [excerpts, transl. Yūsuf Ilyās al-Dibs, printed Beirut, 1868].
- r *Ibid.*, III, p. 221 [*Commentarii in quattuor evangelis*, transl. Ġibrāʾīl b. Ṭiyūdūrus Aṣlān, place unknown, ca 1714], p. 386 [*Commentarii in quattuor evangelis*, transl. Yūsuf b. Ġirġīs al-Bānī, Aleppo, ca 1711-1721], p. 386-387 [*Commentarii in epistulis Paulinis*, transl. Yūsuf b. Ġirġīs al-Bānī, Aleppo, 1715]; IV, p. 259 [*Commentarii in Psalmis*, anonymous, place unknown, 1718]; III, p. 491 [excerpts, transl. Yūsuf Ilyās al-Dibs, printed Beirut, 1868].
- s *Ibid.*, IV, p. 259 [*Brevis explicatio sensus literalis Sacrae Scripturae*, anonymous, place and date unknown], p. 41, 58 [Commentary on the Apocalypse from the *Brevis explicatio sensus literalis in quattuor S. Evangelia, Acta Apostolorum, Epistolas Canonicas et Apocalypsim*, transl. Buṭrus b. Yūḥannā Miṣr-Šāh, Aleppo, 1713].
- t *Ibid.*, III, p. 496 [Moral Rules, transl. Yūsuf al-Šabābī, printed Beirut, 1876].
- u *Ibid.*, III, p. 246, 473 [*Praelectiones theologicae*, transl. Anton al-Šabbāḡ, Aleppo, 1768-1772].
- v *Ibid.*, III, p. 431 [*Compendiosae institutiones theologicae ad usum seminarii pictaviensis*, transl. Yaʿqūb Arūṭīn, Aleppo (?), after 1724].
- w *Ibid.*, IV, p. 259 [*Orthodoxae fidei confessio de Verbi Divini Incarnatione* [...], anonymous, printed Rome, 1735].
- x *Ibid.*, III, p. 224 [*Theologia Moralis Unīversa*, transl. Yūsuf Aḡlūnī, printed Rome, 1783]; IV, p. 72 [excerpts from *Theologia moralis*, transl. Buṭrus Marūṭā Ṭībāl, Diyārbakr, 1860].
- y *Ibid.*, III, p. 472 [*Synopsis doctrinae de festis Domini N. Jesu Christi, de festis B. Mariae, de quibusdam sanctis*, transl. Ilyās Saʿd al-Baġġānī, place unknown, 1736].
- z *Ibid.*, III, p. 247 [*Theologia historico-mystica adversus veteres et novos pseudo-mysticos quorum historia textitur et errores confutantur*, transl. Anṭūn al-Šabbāḡ, Aleppo, 1760s-90s].
- aa *Ibid.*, IV, p. 67 [*Compendium theologiae universae ad usum examinandorum*, transl. Buṭrus Ġarwa, Rome, 1826].
- bb *Ibid.*, III, p. 246 [*Institutiones philosophiae ad studia theologica potissimum accomodatae*, transl. Anton al-Šabbāḡ, Aleppo, 1766].
- cc *Ibid.*, III, p. 285 [*Epitome historiae sacrae*, transl. Mikāʾīl b. Fransīs al-Masābikī, Beirut (?), 1858].
- dd *Ibid.*, III, p. 257 [*Institutiones logicae* or *Institutiones metaphysicae*, transl. Sābā al-Kātib, printed Damascus, 1855].
- ee *Ibid.*, IV, p. 72 [*Hermeneutica sacra*, transl. Nīʿmat Allāh Karam Ḥūrī, printed Beirut, 1884].
- ff *Ibid.*, III, p. 496 [*Compendium theologiae moralis*, transl. Yūḥannā Ḥabīb, printed Beirut, 1879-1882], p. 498 [*Compendium theologiae moralis*, transl. Yūsuf Ḍāḥir al-Bustānī, place unknown, before 1896].
- gg *Ibid.*, III, p. 491 [*Praelectiones theologicae*, transl. Yūsuf Ilyās al-Dibs, Katarḥayy, 1858-1859; printed Beirut, 1881].
- hh *Ibid.*, III, p. 491 [*Institutiones philosophicae*, transl. Yūsuf Ilyās al-Dibs, Kafarḥayy, 1857; printed Beirut, 1877].
- ii *Ibid.*, III, p. 286 [Two Latin sermons held at the Vatican Council, anonymous, place unknown, after 1869-70].

Middle Eastern Muslim societies.¹⁸⁰ The translations of texts written by important Latin authors of Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, however, provide a comparatively large, though thematically restricted textual basis for those contemporary Arabic scholars working on theological aspects of late Roman or medieval European history: Augustine's *Confessiones* (*al-ʿItirāfāt*), translated in the early thirteenth/nineteenth century by the bishop of Accon and later patriarch Yūḥannā l-Ḥulū, as well as Thomas Aquinas' *Summa theologiae* (*al-Ḥulāṣa l-lāhūtiyya*), translated by Būlus ʿAwwād at the turn of the thirteenth/nineteenth to the fourteenth/twentieth century, have been reprinted and are available in Arab libraries such as the Biblioteca Alexandrina.¹⁸¹

Appreciation of Latin as a Part of European Education Systems (11th/17th-14th/20th c.)

However, Latin did not only play a role for Middle Eastern Christians. It is also mentioned in Arabic-Islamic works of *adab* (*belles-lettres*) of the eleventh/seventeenth and twelfth/eighteenth century from the Muslim West. These references, however, cannot be traced back to earlier works of Arabic-Islamic scholarship, but are based on the authors' observations during travels on the European continent.

Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-Ḥaḡarī, a Morisco born in Granada around 1569-1570, fled to Morocco at the end of the tenth/sixteenth century where he was eventually employed by the sultan Mūlāy Zaydān because of his fluency in both Castilian and Arabic, a qualification he shared with a number of other Moriscos who settled in Muslim societies after their expulsion from the Iberian Peninsula.¹⁸²

180 Daniel G. König, "Augustine and Islam", in *The Oxford Guide to the Historical Reception of Augustine*, ed. Karla Pollmann and Willemien Otten, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2013, p. 146-147.

181 *ʿItirāfāt al-qiddīs Awḡuṣṭīnūs*, transl. Yūḥannā l-Ḥulūw, Beirut, Dār al-maṣriq, 1991, to be found in the edition of Beirut, al-Maṭbaʿa l-kāṭilīkiyya, 1962, in the Biblioteca Alexandrina under the shelfmark A9235 270.092; *Kitāb al-ḥalāṣa al-lāhūtiyya li-l-qiddīs Tūmā al-Akwīnī*, transl. Būlus ʿAwwād, Beirut, Dār Ṣādir, 1887-1908, in the Biblioteca Alexandrina under the shelfmark 230 T4541.

182 Cf. Mikel de Epalza and Abdel-Hakim Slama-Gafsi, *El español hablado en Túnez por los moriscos (siglos XVII-XVIII)*, Valencia-Granada-Zaragoza, Publicacions de la Universitat de València-Universidad de Granada-Universidad de Zaragoza ("Biblioteca de estudios moriscos", 7), 2010. Cf. the study on translations effected by Moriscos in the Maghreb by Muḥammad al-Manūnī, "Zāhira taʿrībiyya fī l-Maḡrib ayyām al-Saʿdiyyīn", *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos en Madrid*, 11-12 (1963-1964), p. 329-358.

At the orders of the sultan, for whom he is said to have translated a geographical work from Latin into Arabic with the help of a captive monk,¹⁸³ Aḥmad b. Qāsim visited France and Flanders around the year 1612 to seek restitution for property robbed by Christian captains from various Morisco families during the expulsion from Spain in 1609.¹⁸⁴ In his travel account, Aḥmad b. Qāsim reports on a conversation with a scholar of Arabic in Leiden as well as to a meeting with a man who mentioned the existence of a Latin translation of the Qurʾān.

He also mentioned the Holy Spirit. I said to him, "Is the Holy Spirit not the Paraclete of the Gospel?" He said, "Yes, he is." I said to him: "You know dialects and languages. What does Paraclete mean?" He said, "It is a word that is not Latin (*min luḡat [sic] al-laṭīn*) but Greek." [...] Later, a learned man, renowned in medicine and the sciences, came to see me. He said, "We have a copy of the Qurʾān in a Latin translation [...]."¹⁸⁵

A voyage to Spain was undertaken in 1690-1691 by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Waḥḥāb al-Ġassānī (d. 1119/1707) with the aim of redeeming captives. In this context, the author gained an insight into the contemporary system of higher education and the role assigned to Latin within this system:

Their first topic of reading is philosophy and what is related to it. There are in these two residences a large number of students from all environs

183 See Wiegiers, "Moriscos", p. 597, on the basis of Aḥmad b. Qāsim, *Nāṣir al-Dīn ʿalā qawm al-kāfirīn*, ed. Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld, Gerard Albert Wiegiers and Qāsim al-Sammarāʾī, Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas-Agencia española de cooperación internacional ("Fuentes arábico-hispanas", 21), 1997, p. 151, who, however, only mentions the translation of a letter in this passage.

184 Nabil Matar, *In the Lands of the Christians: Arabic Travel Writing in the Seventeenth Century*, New York-London, Routledge, 2003, p. 5-8.

185 Aḥmad b. Qāsim, *Nāṣir al-dīn ʿalā qawm al-kāfirīn*, p. 141: *wa-ḡakara ayḡdan al-rūḡ al-quḡs. Qultu lahu: al-rūḡ al-quḡs huwa l-bāraqliṭ al-maḡkūr fī l-inḡīl? Qāla: naʿam! Huwa. Qultu lahu: anta taʿrifu l-alsan [sic] wa-l-luḡāt, mā maʿnā l-bāraqliṭ? Qāla: ḡiya kalima laysat min laḡat [sic] al-Laṭīn, innamā ḡiya min luḡat al-Yūnān [...]. Tumma ḡāʿa raḡul ḡakīm maṣḡūr fī l-ṭibb wa-l-ʿulūm. Qāla lī: naḡnu ʿindanā al-Qurʾān mutarḡam bi-l-laṭīn [...]*; translation adapted from Matar, *In the Lands*, p. 33-34. On the author and his activities in Europe see Gerard Wiegiers, "A Life between Europe and the Maghrib: the Writings and Travels of Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-Ḥaḡarī al-Andalusī", in *The Middle East and Europe: Encounters and Exchanges*, ed. Geert Jan van Gelder, Ed de Moor, Amsterdam, Rodopi ("Orientations", 1), 1992, p. 87-115.

of Madrid and elsewhere who desire an education. According to them, however, the primary place for learning and its perfection is another city they call Salamanca, which is three miles [*sic*] from Madrid. It is known among them, that he who does not complete his studies and learning and acquire a degree in the city of Salamanca is not counted as someone who has achieved something. The larger part of what they read during their youth is what they present them with from among their well-known infidelities so that they may be trained in this and that it may be held in view by them. After that they learn arithmetic, then geometry in the Latin tongue, for Latin has the same function as grammar has to the Arabs. Not all Christians understand it unless they acquire it in their youth. Thus, you will find Christian children sent by their fathers to places specialized in its teaching, such as the Escorial, Salamanca, and others.¹⁸⁶

A comparable comment on the Latin language was made around a century later by a certain Muḥammad b. 'Uṭmān al-Miknaṣī (d. 1213/1799) who, during a journey to Malta, the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily in 1781-1783, visited a boys' school in Messina:

An aspect of this city's urbanity (*ḥaḍāra*) manifested itself, when I entered a large house in which boys study. After entering, we passed through rooms in each of which was a teacher with boys learning from him, studying arithmetic, astronomy, navigation, Latin, which occupies

186 Muḥammad al-Ġassānī l-Andalusī, *Riḥlat al-wazīr fī ftikāk al-asīr*, ed. Nūrī Ġarrāḥ, Beirut, al-Mu'assasa l-'arabiyya li-l-dirāsāt wa-l-naṣr, 2002, p. 122: *wa-awwal qirā'atuhum al-falsafa wa-mā fī ma'nāhā, wa-fī ḥatayn al-dārayn min al-muta'allimīn 'adad kaṭīr yaqṣidūna al-ta'līm min ḡamī' nawāḥī Madrīd wa-ḡayrihā, illā anna l-mawḍi' al-maṣdar 'indahum li-l-ta'līm wa-kamālihi bi-za'mihim hiya madīna uḥrā yasammūnahā Ṣālāmanka 'alā ṭalāṭat amyāl min madīnat Madrīd, fa-inna min al-ma'rūf 'indahum anna man lam yukmil 'ulūmahu wa-qirā'atahu wa-yaḥṣal dirāyat dālik bi-madīnat Ṣālāmanka, fa-lā yu'addu 'indahum bi-muḥṣil. wa-ḡull qirā'atihim fī ḥāl al-ṣuḡr mā yulqūnahu 'alayhim ma'lūmuhum min al-kafarīyyāt ḥattā yataḍarrabū 'alā dālika wa-yakūnu nuṣba a'yūnihim. Wa-min ba'da dālika yata'allamūna l-ḥisāb, wa-ba'dahu l-handasa bi-lisān al-latīn. Wa-l-latīn 'indahum huwa bi-maṭābat 'ilm al-naḥw 'inda l-'Arab fa-lam yaḥṣamhu ḡamī' al-naṣārā mimman lam yaḥṣalhu fī ḥāl ṣuḡrihi, fa-ṭaḡīdu ṣuḡār al-naṣārā yuqṣidu bihim ābā'uḥum al-mawāḍi' al-mu'adda li-l-qirā'a miṭl al-Iskūriyāl wa-Ṣālāmanka wa-mā aṣbahuhimā; translation adapted from Matar, *In the Lands*, p. 182.*

the place grammar has among us, as well as philosophy, medicine and other subjects. They were very attentive to this.¹⁸⁷

We may note that, in the last two texts, the authors displayed interest in the education system of the society they visited and explained the function of Latin in this context. Their explanations testify to the growing admiration for European systems of education that finds its first apogee in Rif'at al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's description of his sojourn in Paris (1826-1831), another text that mentions Latin as an integral part of a European society's educational system.

In his description of Paris, al-Ṭaḥṭāwī evokes the centuries-old report of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, according to whom translations from Latin and Greek to Arabic took place under the rule of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III, the Umayyad caliph of al-Andalus.¹⁸⁸ In addition, he provides a transcription and translation of the Latin terms *charta* (*al-ṣarṭa*), i.e. "paper"¹⁸⁹ and "grammatica"¹⁹⁰ (*aḡramātiqā*), translates a Latin proverb figuring in a theatre piece,¹⁹¹ refers to the Latin taxonomy of animals as presented on signs in the Jardin des plantes,¹⁹² and mentions the systematic study of the sciences and languages, including "eloquence in the

187 Muḥammad b. 'Uṭmān al-Miknāsī, *al-Badr al-sāfir li-hidāyat al-musāfir ilā fikāk al-asārā min yad al-'adūw al-kāfir*, ed. Malika al-Zāhidī, Casablanca, Ġāmi'at al-Ḥasan al-ṭānī, 2005, p. 244: *wa-min ḥaḍārat ḥādīhi l-madīna ayḍan annanī daḥaltu ilā dār kabīra yata'allamu fihā l-ṣibyān al-ḍakūr, fa-lammā daḥalnā ilayhā mararnā bi-qubabihā, wa-kull qubba fihā mu'allim wa-ḡamā'a min al-ṣibyān yata'allamūna 'alayhi fa-yata'allamūna l-ḥisāb wa-'ilm al-nuḡūm wa-l-baḥr wa-l-Laṭīn allaḍi huwa bi-manzilat al-naḥw 'indanā, wa-l-falsafa wa-l-ṭibb, wa-ḡayr ḍālika wa-lahum i'tinā' bihi kabīr*; translation adapted from Nabil Matar, *An Arab Ambassador in the Mediterranean World: The Travels of Muḥammad Ibn 'Uthmān al-Miknāsī*, London-New York, Routledge ("Culture and civilization"), 2015, p. 132.

188 Rif'at al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, *Taḥlīs al-ibrīz fī talḥīs Bārīz*, Cairo, Mu'assasat Hindāwī li-l-ta'lim wa-l-ṭaqāfa, 2011, p. 16: *wa-ka-ḍālika l-malik 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir ṣāḥib al-Andalus, fa-innahu ṭalaba min malik Quṣṭanṭīniyya l-musammā Armāniyūs an yab'āṭa ilayhi raḡul yatakallamu bi-l-lisān al-yūnānī wa-l-lāṭīnī li-yu'allima lahu 'abīd yakūnūna mutarḡimīn 'indahu [...]*; Rif'at al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, *An Imām in Paris: Account of a Stay in France by an Egyptian Cleric (1826-31)*, transl. Daniel Newman, London, Saqi Books, 2004, p. 113.

189 Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, *Taḥlīs al-ibrīz*, p. 105: *wa-l-kitāb al-maḍkūr allaḍi fihī ḥādā l-qānūn yusammā l-ṣarṭa wa-ma'nāhā fī l-luḡa l-lāṭīniyya warāqa [...]*; *id.*, *An Imām in Paris*, p. 194.

190 *Id.*, *Taḥlīs al-ibrīz*, p. 188: *fa-inna 'ilm al-naḥw yusammā fī l-lisān al-faransāwī 'l-aḡramīr' wa-bi-l-lāṭīniyya wa-bi-l-ṭālīyya 'aḡramātiqā' [...]*; cf. p. 263.

191 *Id.*, *Taḥlīs al-ibrīz*, p. 133: *wa-min al-maktūb 'alā l-sitāra llatī tarḥā ba'da firāḡ al-la'b bi-l-luḡa l-lāṭīniyya mā ma'nāhā bi-l-luḡa l-'arabiyya 'qad taṣlaḥu l-'awā'id bi-l-la'ab' [...]*; *id.*, *An Imām*, p. 226.

192 *Id.*, *Taḥlīs al-ibrīz*, p. 183: *wa-fihā kaṭīr min al-aṣyā' allatī lā yumkinu an naḡida lahā asmā' 'arabiyya ka-ḥayawānāt bilād amrikiyya aw nabātihā wa-aḡḡārihā. Wa-kull ḥādīhi l-aṣyā'*

Latin language" (*al-balāġa fī l-lisān al-lāṭīnī*) at the Collège royal de France.¹⁹³ His strong interest in the functioning of the French language also leads him to a definition of the relationship between Latin and French in one of the earliest analyses of the relationship between Latin and Romance languages in Arabic.

You should know that the French tongue is a modern form of Frankish, the language of the Gauls (*al-Ġalwiyya*), i.e. the ancestors of the French. It was subsequently perfected by Latin, with a number of elements added from the Greek and the Germanic (*al-nimsāwiyya*) language and a few from the language of the Slavs (*al-Ṣaqāliyya*), as well as others. When later the French became proficient in the sciences, they took their scientific terms from the languages of the respective people, most of the specialized terms being derived from Greek. As a result, their language became one of the richest and vastest languages [...].¹⁹⁴

To this al-Ṭaḥṭawī adds a further comment in which he makes clear that all languages—not only Arabic—abide by certain rules, which can be studied and which serve to understand the functioning of other languages. The scholar of Latin serves as an example:

All languages that are governed by rules have a science (*fann*) summarizing [these rules] or aiming at its improvement. So, rather than being exclusive to Arabic, all languages feature this [science]. To be sure, Arabic is the most eloquent, greatest, most extensive and exalted language to the ear. A specialist of the Latin language, however, knows everything related to it, even if he has no insight into its syntax proper or other things like inflection. In consequence, it is pure ignorance to say that he does not know anything simply because of his ignorance of the Arabic language.

mawḏū'a bi-hādā l-bustān ka-l-'ayn aw al-anmūdaġ min kull šay', wa-maktūb 'alā kull šay' ismuḥu bi-l-luġa l-faransawīyya aw bi-l-lāṭīniyya [...]; id., An Imām, p. 261.

193 *Id., Taḥlīṣ al-ibrīz*, p. 189.

194 *Ibid.*, p. 91: *i'lam anna l-lisān al-faransāwī min al-ifranġiyya l-mustaḥḍita, wa-huwa lisān al-Ġalwiyya, ya'nī: qudamā' al-Faransīs, tumma kumila min al-luġa l-lāṭīniyya, wa-uḍifa ilayhi šay' min al-luġa l-yūnāniyya wa-l-nimsāwiyya wa-yasīru min luġat al-Ṣaqāliyya wa-ġayrihā, tumma hīna bara'a l-Faransāwiyya fī l-'ulūm naqalū kalimāt al-'ulūm min luġāt ahliahā, wa-aḳtar al-kalimāt al-iṣṭilāhiyya yūnāniyya, ḥattā kāna lisānuhum min ašya' al-alsun wa-awsa'uhā [...]; translation adapted from *id., An Imām*, p. 185.*

When somebody thoroughly studies any language, he in effect becomes familiar with another language.¹⁹⁵

Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's curiosity in, as well as his admiration and respect for the intellectual and practical achievements of French society is characteristic of the intellectual movement in the Middle East of the thirteenth/nineteenth century that is summarized under the term *al-Nahḍa*. The recognition of the value inherent in European education systems has to be regarded as a strong stimulus to reform the educational systems of the Arab world by introducing new subjects of learning taught in new institutions separated from the traditional foci of education centred around the mosque and the *madrassa*.¹⁹⁶ It is within this process of educational reform that we must situate the introduction of Latin to the academic curricula of the Arab world. It seems necessary, however, to distinguish between the Maghreb and the Mashreq in this context.

The Introduction of Latin to Curricula in the Arab World (14th/20th c.)

Great parts of the Maghreb came under French tutelage after the conquest of Algeria in 1827, the official creation of a French protectorate of Tunisia in 1884 and the takeover in Morocco in 1912. French educational policy had a strong linguistic note in that the teaching of French became a dominant part of the colonial education system and considerably influenced the development of regional Arabic dialects,¹⁹⁷ much stronger than Italian and English affected

195 *Id.*, *Taḥlīṣ al-ibrīz*, p. 93: *fa-ḥinā'idīn sā'ir al-luġāt dāt al-qawā'id lahā fann yaġma'u aw li-taḥsīnihā, fa-ḥinā'idīn laysat al-luġa l-'arabiyya ḥiya l-maqṣūra 'alā dālīka, bal kull luġa min al-luġāt yūġadu fihā dālīka, na'am al-luġa l-'arabiyya afṣaḥ al-luġāt wa-a'zamuhā wa-awsa'uḥā wa-aḥlāhā 'alā l-sam'*; *fa-ḥinā'idīn al-'ālim bi-l-luġa l-lāṭīniyya ya'rifu sā'ir mā yata'allaqu bihā, qillat idrāk fi l-naḥw fi ḥadd dātīhi wa-fi ġayrihi ka-l-ṣarf, fa-min al-ġahl an yuqālu: innahu lā ya'rifu ṣay', bi-dalīl ġahlihi bi-l-luġa l-'arabiyya, wa-idā tabaḥḥara l-insān fi luġa min al-luġāt kāna 'ālim bi-l-luġa l-uḥrā bi-l-quwwa [...]*; translation adapted from *id.*, *An Imām*, p. 188.

196 With regard to Egypt, this process is summarily described in Donald Malcolm Reid, *Cairo University and the Making of Modern Egypt*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press ("Cambridge Middle East library", 23), 2002, p. 5-6; cf. Ra'ūf 'Abbās, *Ta'riḥ ḡāmi'at al-Qāhira*, Cairo, al-Hay'a l-miṣriyya l-'amma, 1995, for another overview on the history of the university.

197 Cf. Dalila Morsly, "Histoire externe du français au Maghreb", in *Romanische Sprachgeschichte—Histoire linguistique de la Romania*, ed. Gerhard Ernst *et al.*, Berlin-New

Arabic in Libya and Egypt respectively.¹⁹⁸ The colonial French government actively presented itself as heir to the Roman Empire, manifest in symbolical acts such as the “repatriation” of the relics of Saint Augustine to North Africa.¹⁹⁹ Notwithstanding, the teaching of Latin to the Muslim colonized does not seem to have stood at the centre of French colonial ambitions, and has so far not received any attention by scholarship. The occasional document, *e.g.* a *memo-randum* on colonial education in Algeria from 1910,²⁰⁰ or a newspaper article containing reminiscences of schooldays in the years around 1941 under French colonial rule,²⁰¹ suggest that Latin was an integral though minor part of the system of secondary education during the period of French rule. Thus, in colonial North Africa, Latin seems to have been imposed as a foreign language. Apparently, Maghrebien societies as such did not develop a proper interest in studying this language, in spite of the fact that North Africa played an important role for Latin literature in Late Antiquity.²⁰²

York, de Gruyter, 2003, I, p. 929-939; see the extensive bibliography under the title “Langue française et contacts de langue en Afrique du Nord : contribution à une bibliographie scientifique”, in *Inventaire des usages de la francophonie : nomenclatures et méthodologies*, ed. Danièle Latin, Ambroise Queffélec and Jean Tabi-Manga, Montrouge-London-Rome, Éditions John Libbey Eurotext (“Universités francophones”), 1993, p. 433-460.

198 Cf. Lutz Edzard, “Externe Sprachgeschichte des Italienischen in Libyen und Ostafrika”, in *Romanische Sprachgeschichte*, I, p. 966-972; Charles Issawi, “European Loan-Words in Contemporary Arabic Writing: A Case Study in Modernization”, *Middle Eastern Studies*, 3/2 (1967), p. 110-133.

199 Buṭrus al-Bustānī, *Kitāb Dā'irat al-ma'ārif*, Beirut, Maṭba'at al-ma'ārif, 1880, IV, p. 672-674.

200 Maurice Poulard, *L'enseignement pour les Indigènes en Algérie*, Algiers, Imprimerie administrative Gojoso, 1910, p. 169: “Ces indigènes arrivent au lycée, mal préparés, avec une instruction élémentaire bien insuffisante le plus souvent, pour commencer avec fruit l'étude aride du latin, des sciences et de la littérature [...]”; cf. Aïssa Kadri, “Histoire du système d'enseignement colonial en Algérie”, in *La France et l'Algérie : leçons d'histoire*, ed. Frédéric Abécassis, Gilles Boyer and Benoît Falaize, Paris, ENS Éditions (“Éducation, histoire, mémoire”), 2007, p. 19-39.

201 Cf. Sadek Hadjerès, “Mohammed Hady-Sadok : l'homme et le pédagogue qu'il nous aurait fallu”, *Le Quotidien d'Algérie Online edition* (16/12/2011), under: <http://lequotidienalgerie.org/2011/12/16/mohammed-hady-sadok-lhomme-et-le-pedagogue-quil-nous-aurait-fallu/> (accessed 27/08/15), on the nature of Arabic classes: “Jusque là, les cours d'arabe (enseigné comme langue étrangère) étaient le plus souvent d'un niveau si déprécié que c'était plutôt l'occasion pour nous de les écouter d'une oreille tout en faisant nos devoirs de maths ou apprenant nos leçons en d'autres matières. [...] Nous en avions d'autant plus mal au cœur que le climat était tout autre en anglais, allemand ou en latin-grec.”

202 Cf. Paul Monceaux, *Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne depuis les origines jusqu'à l'invasion arabe*, Paris, Éditions Ernest Leroux, 1901-1923.

Although the phenomenon of Latin being introduced as part of a colonial education system is also attested in the Mashreq,²⁰³ the integration of Latin into the canon of education, albeit limited, was promoted by different forces. Thanks to the early modern engagement of Middle Eastern Christians with the Roman-Catholic church, Latin was taught in Maronite schools in the Levant.²⁰⁴ Christian-Arab intellectuals in Ottoman Syria, Iraq and Palestine, building on the heritage of preceding generations of Christian-Arab authors, played an important role in making the classical heritage available to a public able to read Arabic: Buṭrus al-Bustānī's well-known encyclopaedia contains *lemmata* on topics related to the Latin language.²⁰⁵ Louis al-Ṣābūnǧī (1838-1931) translated a dictionary of philosophical terms from Latin to Arabic.²⁰⁶ The aforementioned translator of Thomas Aquinas, the Iraqi scholar of Lebanese origin Būlus 'Awwād, also known as Father Anastase al-Kirmilī (1866-1947), was a polyglot scholar highly involved in cultural affairs of his period.²⁰⁷

In the Arab Middle East, however, not only Christians, but also Muslim reformers contributed to the establishment of Latin studies. Egypt, founding the earliest secular university of the Arab world in Cairo in 1908, "the prime indigenous model for state universities elsewhere in the Arab world," took on the role of a forerunner.²⁰⁸ Among the figures involved in introducing the study of Latin to the Egyptian academic system is Ṭaha Ḥusayn. On the homepage of Cairo University's Department for the Study of Greek and Latin (*qism al-dirāsāt al-yūnāniyya wa-l-lātīniyya*), founded in 1925, he is hailed as

203 See the example of the school run by the "Frères des écoles chrétiennes" in Beirut as mentioned in Esther Möller, *Orte der Zivilisierungsmission: Französische Schulen im Libanon 1909-1943*, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht ("Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz", 233), 2013, p. 182.

204 Buṭrus al-Tūlāwī or al-Tūlānī (1655-1745), for example, taught Latin and Italian at the Maronite school in Aleppo, see Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, III, p. 394. On the Latinization of the Maronites see *ibid.*, p. 501-504; Matti Moosa, *The Maronites in History*, New York, Syracuse University Press, 1986, p. 267-278 (chap. 25: "The Latinization of the Maronite Church").

205 See, for example, the article on Saint Augustine in al-Bustānī, *Dā'irat al-ma'ārif*, IV, p. 672-674.

206 Chejne, *Arabic Language*, p. 140-141.

207 On his activities see *ibid.*, p. 115-117.

208 Reid, *Cairo University*, p. 4.

“the pioneering head of the department, for he was the first Arab Egyptian to teach Greek and Roman history and mythology in Arabic.”²⁰⁹

As Ṭaha Ḥusayn reports in his autobiography, his aim to acquire a French academic degree at the Sorbonne obliged him to learn Latin, a language that, as he himself states, could not be learned in Egypt at that time.²¹⁰ Aided by his future wife, Ṭaha Ḥusayn finally succeeded in mastering this language,²¹¹ thus becoming a staunch supporter of the introduction of Greek and Latin in Egyptian school and university curricula,²¹² and acquiring the necessary qualifications to become involved in the foundation of the first Classics department in the Arab world.²¹³

The impact of the foundation of this Classics department on and beyond Egyptian society can be traced in intellectual circles influenced by pan-Arab discourse discussing particular problems of the Arabic language. Between the 1930s and the 1950s, several ideas were proposed to reform the Arabic language with the aim of battling analphabetism. Among the more radical ideas

209 <http://classicscu.edu.eg/history.html> (accessed 27/08/15): *al-rā'id al-awwal li-l-qism fa-qad kāna awwal Miṣrī 'arabī yaqūmu bi-tadrīs al-tārīḥ al-yūnānī wa-l-rūmānī wa-l-asāṭīr bi-l-luġa l-'arabiyya*.

210 Ṭaha Ḥusayn, *al-Ayyām (fi muġallad wāḥid)*, Cairo, Markaz al-ahrām, 1992, book 3, p. 408, 457: *wa-lam takun al-lātīniyya tudrasu fi Miṣr lā fi l-madāris al-ṭanawiyya wa-lā fi l-madāris al-'ālīya*; p. 461; Ṭaha Ḥusayn, *A Passage to France: The Third Volume of the Autobiography of Ṭaha Ḥusayn*, transl. Kenneth Cragg, Leiden, Brill (“Arabic translation series of the Journal of Arabic Literature”, 4), 1976, p. 79, 116, 118–119.

211 Ḥusayn, *al-Ayyām*, p. 455; Ḥusayn, *A Passage*, p. 114. Cf. Abdelrashid Mahmoudi, *Taha Husain's Education: From Al-Azhar to the Sorbonne*, New York, Routledge, 2013, p. 158; Reid, *Cairo University*, p. 64.

212 His arguments are laid out in Ṭaha Ḥusayn, *Mustaqbal al-ṭaqāfa fi Miṣr*, Cairo, Mu'assasat Hindāwī li-l-ta'lim wa-l-ṭaqāfa, 2014, p. 171–186, originally published 1938, under the chapter headings “al-Yūnāniyya wa-l-Lātīniyya” and “Subul ta'lim hātayn al-luġatayn fi l-ta'lim al-'amm”. Cf. Peter E. Pormann, “Classical Scholarship and Arab Modernity”, in *Modernity's Classics*, eds Sarah C. Humphreys and Rudolf G. Wagner, Berlin-Heidelberg, Springer (“Transcultural research: Heidelberg studies on Asia and Europe in a global context”), 2011, p. 126–29; Peter E. Pormann, “The Arab ‘Cultural Awakening (Nahḍa)’, 1870–1950, and the Classical Tradition”, *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, 13/1 (2006), p. 16–19.

213 Ahmed Etman, “The Arab Reception of the Classics”, in *A Companion to Classical Receptions*, ed. Lorna Hardwick and Christopher Stray, Malden-Oxford-Chichester, Wiley-Blackwell (“Blackwell companions to the ancient world”), 2011, p. 143, 147; Reid, *Cairo University*, p. 111. On the problematic aspects of introducing Latin to the academic curriculum see Haggai Erlich, *Students and University in 20th Century Egyptian Politics*, London, Frank Cass & Co., 1989, p. 34, 68.

were proposals to Latinize the Arabic alphabet or, at least, to alter the Arabic alphabet in a way as to make reading as well as printing easier.²¹⁴ Another proposal was to bid farewell to an artificial Arabic standard language, to begin writing the respective regional dialects of Arabic and to make these dialects the basis for linguistic teaching in the respective national education systems.²¹⁵ These proposals, furiously debated, were occasionally countered with reference to the history of the Latin language—a language that had been given up to the advantage of various nationalist cultures thanks to an increasing nationalization of European societies in the modern age. In this context, Latin was perceived as the European equivalent to standard Arabic. Maḥmūd Taymūr, one of the intellectuals involved in these discussions, wrote in his book “Problems of the Arabic Language” (*muškilāt al-luġa l-‘arabiyya*):

People may be excused for claiming that there exists a parallel between Arabic and Latin, for Latin has once been an indigenous language that was written and spoken. Then it branched out into various vernacular dialects after the Roman conquests. These developed into independent, developed and living languages. Thus, Latin was relegated to the sphere of writing. When its derivatives such as French, Italian and Spanish won the upper hand, the horizon of its usage was constricted, it languished, dried up and lost its liveliness. It ended up isolated between the dusty pages of old books.²¹⁶

The dystopic vision that Arabic could suffer the same fate as Latin had a strong political dimension in the 1950s: in a lecture delivered in front of the “Commission for the Arabic Language in Cairo” (*maġma‘ al-luġa l-‘arabiyya bi-l-Qāhira*) in 1957, Ṭaha Ḥusayn pointed to the dangers inherent in exposing Arabic to the same evolution as Latin. The establishment of written Arabic dialects would disable communication between different Arabic societies and

214 Cf. Chejne, *Arabic Language*, p. 158-161.

215 Cf. *ibid.*, p. 161-168.

216 Maḥmūd Taymūr, *Muškilāt al-luġa l-‘arabiyya*, Cairo, Maktabat al-ādāb, 1957, p. 5-6: *fa-li-l-nās ‘udruhum fīmā yaqūlūna min al-muwāzana bayna l-‘arabiyya wa-l-lātīniyya, li-anna l-lātīniyya kānat luġa ašliyya li-l-kitāba wa-l-kalām, tumma tafarraḡat ba‘da l-futūḥāt al-rūmāniyya laḡāt ‘amiyya sārāt fīmā ba‘d luġāt mustaqilla mutaṭawwira ḥayya, wa-baḡiyat al-latīniyya luġat kitāba, id taġallabat ‘alayhā muštaḡātuhā ka-l-faransiyya wa-l-ṭāliyya wa-l-isbāniyya, fa-ḡaqa muḥīt isti‘mālihā, wa-ḡallat tataḡā‘alu wa-taġammada wa-tafqidu ḥayyawīyyatahā, wa-intahā bihā l-amr ilā l-‘uzla bayna l-ṣaḡā‘if al-maṭwiyya min al-kutub al-qadīma; cf. Chejne, *Arabic Language*, p. 13.*

create rivalling national cultures. Ṭaha Ḥusayn criticized the advocates of the colloquial language

who attempt to expose Arabic to what has happened to Latin in the past, and who want to divide the Arab world into different linguistic shades so that if the Syrian wrote, his writing would have to be translated to the Iraqi, the Egyptian, the North African, and so forth.²¹⁷

Considering that these arguments were formulated in the context of decolonization and in the wake of two world wars of European origin, may help to understand that these linguistic debates did not only address irrelevant cultural issues, but political issues of utmost relevance to emerging Arab nation-states experimenting with the idea of pan-Arabism. Thus, the involvement of more and more Arabic speakers with the Latin language also affected pan-Arab discourse by offering the possibility of formulating comparative historical analogies and thus of envisioning the future of specific educational policies affecting the Arabic language. The intensified engagement with the classical history of European and Mediterranean societies as well as the institutional establishment of a Classics Department in Egypt had quickly borne fruit.

Latin in the Contemporary Arab World (14th-15th/20th-21st c.)

More research would have to be done to trace the emergence of the around two dozen departments in universities of the Arab world that teach the Latin language and its literary tradition. The following remarks, based on an internet research executed in spring 2014 and a review of results in summer 2015,²¹⁸ may provide a stepping-stone for future engagement with this topic. Given the rapid and violent changes that North African and Middle Eastern societies are currently undergoing, and considering that this research was only done on the

²¹⁷ Translation adapted from *ibid.*, p. 123, also see p. 166. The original text is published in *Mağallat al-mağma' li-l-luğa l-'arabiyya bi-Dimaşq*, 32 (1957), p. 25: *wa-yuḥāwilūna an yu'arriḏū al-luğa l-'arabiyya li-mā ta'arraḏat lahu al-luğa l-lātīniyya min qabl, yurīdūna an yağ'alū fi l-'ālam al-'arabi bilādan muḥtalifa tatakallamu luğāt muḥtalifa, bi-hayt idā kataba l-Sūrī turğimat kitābatuhu li-l-Trāqī wa-l-Miṣrī wa-l-Ifriqī wa-'alā hādā l-naḥw.* (issues for download on http://lisaanularab.blogspot.de/2012/11/blog-post_23.html, accessed 03/09/15).

²¹⁸ I would like to thank Aouni Shahoud Almousa who carried out the first round of this internet research in spring 2014, reviewed and complemented by myself in a second round in summer 2015.

basis of data available on the internet, this list can neither claim to be complete, nor to fully reflect the current state of Latin studies in the Arab world. Since some of the information was drawn from online-*curricula* only displayed on the internet during the period of the respective academic year, some of the links may not be accessible anymore. Nonetheless, the list provides an impression of where Latin stands within Arab systems of higher education.

Egypt, being the first Arab country to have offered Latin courses as part of the academic *curriculum*, is clearly in the lead. Cairo University's Classic department is thriving,²¹⁹ and has sister institutes in the universities of Alexandria,²²⁰ Mansoura,²²¹ Sohag,²²² Aswan,²²³ and the South Valley.²²⁴ A parallel institute focusing on "European civilization" in 'Ayn Šams University in Cairo also provides Greek and Latin courses.²²⁵ A less thorough linguistic education in Latin is offered by various departments of French language and literature in 'Ayn Šams University in Cairo,²²⁶ at the universities of Ismaeliyya,²²⁷ Zagazig²²⁸ and Assiut.²²⁹ In the universities of Assiut and Zagazig, the study of Latin is also possible within the degree of History as an optional language that is taught, all in all, eight hours, in Assiut, only two hours in Zagazig.²³⁰ Finally, Latin is also part of the departments of archaeology and tourism, such as in

219 <http://classicscu.edu.eg/> (accessed 31/08/15).

220 <http://www.arts.alexu.edu.eg/ar/page.aspx?pn=about-depart> (accessed 31/08/15).

221 <http://artsfac.mans.edu.eg/images/files/tabels20152nd/lateny.pdf> (accessed 31/08/15).

222 http://www.sohag-univ.edu.eg/Faculty_of_Arts/6.html (accessed 31/08/15).

223 <http://arts.aswu.edu.eg/Arabic/AcademicPrograms/UnderGraduateAcademicPrograms/Pages/AcademicProgram.aspx?AcademicProgramID=jLBdw8AZljofYSAinEgYXQ%3d%3d&AcademicProgramTypeID=NXdVnKh55fO672V2JvVDGw%63d%3d> (accessed 31/08/15).

224 http://www.svu.edu.eg/faculties/arts/dep_latn.htm (accessed 31/08/15).

225 <http://arts.asu.edu.eg/article.php?action=show&id=42> (accessed 31/08/15).

226 Dahil kulliyat al-ādāb: qism al-luġat al-faransiyya wa-ādābuhā, http://arts.asu.edu.eg/uploads/arts/EO_II_IJU_OO_2.pdf (accessed 31/08/15).

227 <http://art.scuegypt.edu.eg/attach/f2.pdf> (accessed 31/08/15).

228 http://www.arts.zu.edu.eg/FREN_FREN_Under_Plan.pdf (accessed 07/04/15, not accessible anymore).

229 http://www.aun.edu.eg/faculty_arts/arabic/Pdf/Courses/Courses/9.pdf (accessed 31/08/15).

230 http://www.aun.edu.eg/faculty_arts/arabic/Pdf/Courses/Courses/3.pdf (accessed 31/08/15); <http://www.arts1.zu.edu.eg/new%20data/%20الكليه%20بموقع%20خاصه%20بيانات%20نهائي%20الاقسام%20العلميه/قسم%20تاريخ%20المقررات%20الدراسيه%20المقررات%20الدراسيه> (accessed 07/04/15). In 2008-2009, the department of history still offered a specialization in Latin that involved English-Latin-English translation.

‘Ayn Šams²³¹ and Damanhour University.²³² In some cases, the university, in this case the University of Kafr al-Shaykh, seems to offer paid Latin courses to those interested.²³³

No other Arab country can measure up with Egypt in this regard: in Jordan, the University of Jordan offers Latin courses within the department of French language and literature,²³⁴ Yarmouk University as a language option in the department of history.²³⁵ In Lebanon, Latin courses are offered by Christian universities: the Maronite Holy Spirit University of Kaslik offers Latin courses within the department of French language and literature,²³⁶ as an optional language in the department of history,²³⁷ but also offers lessons on Latin liturgy.²³⁸ Since 2009 it features a Centre d’Études Latines, headed by Mireille Issa, and described as “*un projet unique au Liban*” that aims, among other things, at focussing on the study of Maronite texts in Latin.²³⁹ Notre Dame University of Louaize with the slogan “*Gaudium de veritate*” also offers Latin courses.²⁴⁰ Syria—as far as it is possible to judge the current situation—only offers Latin courses in the department of archaeology of Damascus University.²⁴¹ The same applies to Libya, to the university of Benghazi.²⁴² In Tunisia, Latin forms part of curricula in the department of French language, literature and civilization at the university of Tunis.²⁴³

231 <http://arts.asu.edu.eg/article.php?action=show&id=21> (accessed 31/08/15).

232 <http://www.damanhour.edu.eg/artsfac/Pages/Page.aspx?id=1249> (accessed 31/08/15).

233 <http://www.kfs.edu.eg/arts/display.aspx?topic=6884> (accessed 31/08/15).

234 <http://languages.ju.edu.jo/Lists/OurPrograms/Attachments/10/Bachelor%E2%80%99s%20Degree%20in%20French%20Language%20and%20Literature.pdf> (accessed 31/08/15).

235 http://admreg.yu.edu.jo/en/index.php?option=com_docman&task=cat_view&gid=126&Itemid=159 (accessed 31/08/2015).

236 <http://www.usek.edu.lb/Library/Files/Facultes/FL/20140822/20140822FrenchLiterature.pdf> (accessed 31/08/15).

237 <http://www.usek.edu.lb/Library/Files/Facultes/IH/20140825/20140825History.pdf> (accessed 31/08/15).

238 <http://www.usek.edu.lb/Library/Files/Facultes/FSRO/20130604/20130604LicenseLiturgie EN.pdf> (accessed 31/08/15).

239 <http://www.usek.edu.lb/fr/Recherche/Centre-dEtudes-Latines> (accessed 01/09/2015).

240 http://www.ndu.edu.lb/academics/course_info/course_list.asp?CourseTitle=LANGUAGES%20COURSES&CourseCode=LTN (accessed 31/08/15).

241 http://damascusuniversity.edu.sy/faculties/humanscience/pdf/ruins_plan.pdf (accessed 31/08/15).

242 <http://ac.art.uob.edu.ly/img/207%الآثار%قسم.pdf> (accessed 31/08/15).

243 http://www.fshst.rnu.tn/Fr/descriptifs-des-cours-programmes_21_97 (accessed 11/06/14, site not accessible anymore).

This tentative list suggests that the Egyptian academic system provides the most thorough education in the Latin language. In Egypt, twelve universities offer Latin courses. Egypt is followed by Lebanon and Jordan with two universities each, then by Syria, Libya and Tunisia, where only one university seems to offer courses in Latin. The universities of Mauritania, Morocco, Algeria, Palestine, Iraq, Kuwait, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and the Emirates either do not offer Latin courses or did not provide accessible information on the internet while the research was being carried out.

Bibliographical research in Egyptian library catalogues shows that university libraries offer a large range of manuals for the study of Latin in contemporary European languages—mainly English, French and Italian. It also proves, however, that, in the past half century, Arabic-speaking scholars have increasingly produced didactic literature for the teaching of Latin in Arabic, most often published in Egypt: aside from the Arabic translation of an English manual, published in 1947,²⁴⁴ we find a manual produced by a group of professors from the universities of Alexandria and Cairo also involving Ṭaha Ḥusayn that appeared in a second edition in 1948,²⁴⁵ as well as Muḥammad Salīm Sālīm's introduction to the Latin language, first published in 1949, enlarged and reprinted in 1963-1964 and 1990.²⁴⁶ Several short manuals holding encouraging titles such as "Companion," "Cure," "Light" or "Safe Way" were produced by Amīn Salāma in the 1950s.²⁴⁷ Another manual was published by Muḥammad Ṣaqr Ḥafāḡa and 'Abd al-Laṭīf Aḥmad 'Alī in 1960.²⁴⁸ In the 1970s, an Arabic-Latin dictionary and a Latin-Arabic dictionary were published in Beirut and

244 Fränk Miltūn, *Qawā'id al-lātīniyya al-mubassṣaṭa* [Rules of Simplified Latin], Cairo, Maktabat al-naḥḍa l-miṣriyya, 1947.

245 Muḥammad Maḥmūd al-Lāmūnī, Ġāk Yūsuf Kūhīn and 'Abd al-Laṭīf Aḥmad 'Alī, *al-Luḡa l-lātīniyya*, Cairo, Maktabat al-naḥḍa l-miṣriyya, 1948².

246 Muḥammad Salīm Sālīm (in cooperation with Aḥmad 'Abd al-Raḥīm Abū Zayd and Muḥammad 'Alī Kamāl al-Dīn), *al-Madḥal ilā l-luḡa l-lātīniyya* [Introduction to the Latin Language], Cairo, Dār al-naḥḍa l-miṣriyya, 1949; repr. Cairo, Dār al-naḥḍa l-'arabiyya, 1963-1964 and Cairo, Dār al-naḥḍa l-miṣriyya, 1990.

247 Amīn Salāma, *Rafīq al-ṭālib fī l-luḡa l-lātīniyya* [The Student's Companion to the Latin Language], Cairo, Maktabat al-aṅḡlī l-miṣriyya, 1950; *id.*, *al-Tiryāq fī l-luḡa l-lātīniyya* [Cure for the Latin Language], Cairo, Maktabat al-aṅḡlī l-miṣriyya, 1955; *id.*, *al-Amīn fī l-luḡa al-lātīniyya* [The Safe Way within the Latin Language], Cairo, Maktabat al-aṅḡlī l-miṣriyya, s.d.; Amīn Salāma and Ṣamū'il Kāmil 'Abd al-Sayyid, *al-Miṣbāḥ fī l-luḡa l-lātīniyya* [A Guiding Light within the Latin Language], Cairo, Maktabat al-aṅḡlī l-miṣriyya, 1955.

248 Muḥammad Ṣaqr Ḥafāḡa and 'Abd al-Laṭīf Aḥmad 'Alī, *Muqaddima fī l-luḡa l-lātīniyya* [Introduction to the Latin Language], Cairo, Dār al-naḥḍa l-'arabiyya, 1960.

Cairo respectively.²⁴⁹ A joint handbook of Greek and Latin grammar was published by ‘Abd Allāh Ḥasan al-Muslimī in 1989,²⁵⁰ whereas Cairo University Press published its own manual of the Latin language, also to be distributed in Khartoum at the beginning of the 1990s.²⁵¹ In the years after 2000, several manuals, exercise books and books with selected readings have followed.²⁵² Specialized studies on the Latin grammar, generally published by academics in the shadow of Cairo University’s as well as Alexandria University’s Classics departments and ‘Ayn Šams University’s Department for the Study of European Civilization, show that Latin philologists in Egypt have moved far beyond simple linguistic training²⁵³ and have also produced respectable

- 249 A. Bund Silū, *al-Mu‘jam al-‘arabī l-lātīnī* [*An Arabic-Latin Dictionary*], Beirut, Maktabat Lubnān, 1975; ‘Abd al-Mun‘im Hifnī, *Mu‘jam lātīnī ‘arabī*, Cairo, Maktabat Madbūlī, 1978.
- 250 ‘Abd Allāh Ḥasan al-Muslimī, *Fiqh al-luġatayn al-yūnāniyya wa-l-lātīniyya* [*Rules of the Greek and Latin Language*], Cairo, Maktabat al-ḥurriya l-ḥadiṭa-‘Ayn Šams University, 1989.
- 251 ‘Abd al-Mu‘ṭī l-Ša‘rāwī and Muḥammad Ḥamdī Ibrāhīm, *Qawā‘id al-luġa l-lātīniyya* [*Rules of the Latin Language*], Cairo-Khartoum, Maṭba‘at ġāmi‘at al-Qāhira, 1992.
- 252 ‘Alī Ḥasan ‘Abd al-Ġayyid Muḥammad, *Grammatica Latina—Qawā‘id al-luġa l-lātīniyya, al-ġuz’ al-awwal* [*Grammatica Latina—Rules of the Latin Language, Part One*], Cairo, Dār al-naḥḍa l-‘arabiyya, 2009; Tisīr Muḥammad al-Qanāwī and al-Ṭīnāwī, *Qirā‘āt fī l-adab al-klāsīkī* [*Readings in Classical Literature*], Cairo, Faculty of Letters-‘Ayn Šams University, 2009; *id.*, *Qawā‘id al-luġa l-lātīniyya* [*Rules of the Latin Language*], Cairo, Faculty of Letters-‘Ayn Šams University, 2009; ‘Alā’ Šābir, *al-Luġa l-lātīniyya qawā‘id wa-tamrīnāt* [*The Latin Language: Rules and Exercises*], n.p., 2011.
- 253 Šālīḥ Ramaḍān Riḍwān Abū Zayd, *Ḥālat al-maf‘ūl minhu (Ablativus) fī l-luġa l-lātīniyya wa-l-wazā‘if al-mušābiḥa laḥā fī l-luġa l-yūnāniyya* [*The Ablative in the Latin Language and its Functional Equivalents in the Greek Language*], Cairo, Faculty of Letters-Section for the Study of Greek and Latin-‘Ayn Šams University, 1986; Ašraf Aḥmad Ġābir Farrāġ, *Taq‘id al-ġumla l-sababiyya fī l-luġatayn al-yūnāniyya wa-l-lātīniyya* [*Metalinguistics of the causal sentence in the Greek and Latin Language*], PhD-thesis, Alexandria, Faculty of Letters-University of Alexandria, 1992; Marwa ‘Abd Allāh ‘Abbās Muḥammad, *Ḥurūf al-ġarr fī l-luġa l-lātīniyya: dirāsa taṭbīqiyya fī ‘ilm al-naḥw al-wazā‘if min ḥilāl Īniyādat Firġūliyyūs* [*Prepositions in the Latin Language: Applied Study of the Science of Functional Grammar on the Basis of Vergil’s Aeneid*], MA-thesis, supervised by Muḥammad Muḥammad Ḥasan Wahba and Sayyid Muḥammad ‘Umar, Cairo, Faculty of Letters-Section for European Civilization-‘Ayn Šams University, 2009; Ṭaha Muḥammad Zakī ‘Abd al-Mu‘ṭī, *Uṣūl al-luġa l-lātīniyya fī ḍaw’ qawānīn al-ištiqāq wa-l-qiyās wa-l-isti‘māl: dirāsa fī mu‘allaḥ Farrū Fī l-luġa l-lātīniyya* [*Fundamentals of the Latin Language in the Light of the Rules of Etymology, Analogy and Use: Study on Varro’s Work On the Latin Language*], PhD-thesis, Cairo, Cairo University, 2010; ‘Alī Ḥasan ‘Abd al-Ġayyid Muḥammad, *Syntaxis Latina (Verbum)—al-naḥw al-lātīnī (al-fi’l)* [*Syntaxis Latina (Verbum)—Latin Grammar (The Verb)*], Cairo, Faculty of Letters-Section for Ancient European Civilization-‘Ayn Šams University, s.d.;

literary histories of the Latin language.²⁵⁴ An MA-thesis executed in the Classics Department of Cairo University, a bibliographical study by Sāmiya ‘Abd Allāh al-Kāfūrī of the Egyptian academic production in the fields of Greek and Latin studies, proffers a systematic overview on almost a century of Arabic studies of Latin in Egypt.²⁵⁵

One should not neglect, however, that non-Egyptians have also produced and continue to produce studies on the Latin language. This does not only apply to the field of humanities: in the field of medicine, with its internationally acknowledged standard Latin terminology, a commission entrusted with the task of Arabicization was founded in Syria in 1955.²⁵⁶ Polyglot dictionaries, e.g. of botany, feature Arabic and Latin side by side.²⁵⁷ In the fields of history, philology and linguistics, various native speakers of Arabic who were neither Christian nor Egyptian made important contributions. A study on the interconnection of Latin and Arabic by ‘Alī Fahmī Ḥuṣaym²⁵⁸ (1936-2011), a Libyan scholar who translated a play by Plautus as well as the *Metamorphoses* of Lucius Apuleius Madaurensis from Latin into Arabic,²⁵⁹ shows that Egypt is not alone among Arab countries in producing scholars working with the Latin language. One should also note that the occasional study on the Latin language by an Arab author does not accord with mainstream convictions in international Latin philology: in a voluminous monograph entitled *Le substrat arabe de la langue latine*, for example, the Algerian author Abderrahman Benatia

‘Alī Ḥasan ‘Abd al-Ġayyid Muḥammad, *Qirā’āt fī l-ši’r al-lātīnī fī ‘aṣr al-fiḍḍī* [Latin Poetry in the Silver Age], Cairo, Faculty of Letters-Ayn Šams University, s.d.

254 Muḥammad al-Šābir Sālim, *Lisān al-Rūmān: al-luġa l-lātīniyya* [Language of the Romans: The Latin Language], Cairo, ‘Ayn Šams University, 2004, reprint Dār al-naḥḍa l-‘arabiyya, 2008, 2009; Aḥmad ‘Itmān, *al-Adab al-lātīnī wa-dawruhu l-ḥaḍārī*, Cairo, n.p., 1990, repr. 1995 etc.

255 Sāmiya ‘Abd Allāh al-Kafūrī, *al-Intāġ al-fikrī l-miṣrī fī maġāl al-dirāsāt al-yūnāniyya wa-l-lātīniyya: dirāsa bibliyūmitriyya*, MA-thesis, Cairo University, 2004.

256 Cf. Chejne, *Arabic Language*, p. 113.

257 See e.g. *al-Kāmil fī l-aṣāb wa-l-nabātāt al-ṭibbiyya: mu’ġam lātīnī-inklīzī-faransī-‘arabī*, Beirut, Dār al-kitāb al-‘arabī li-l-ṭibā’a wa-l-naṣr, 1996.

258 ‘Alī Fahmī Ḥuṣaym, *al-Lātīniyya l-‘arabiyya*.

259 It should be noted, however, that Ḥuṣaym’s academic career led him via the Universities of Benghazi, Tripolis, ‘Ayn Šams in Egypt and Durham. His translations: ‘Alī Fahmī Ḥuṣaym, *Ḥusnā Qūrīnā: masraḥiyyat Blāwtūs/Plautus bi-ism Rudens*, Beirut, Dār al-fikr, 1967; *id.*, *Taḥawwulāt al-ġaḥṣ al-dahabī: riwāyat Abūliyyūs al-Madāwuri al-ṣahīra Metamorphoses, mutarġama ilā l-‘arabiyya ma’a muqaddima taḥlīliyya*, Cairo, Markaz al-ḥaḍāra l-‘arabiyya, 1980, 1984, 2000; Cairo, Wizārat al-ṭaqāfa l-miṣriyya, 2004.

tries to prove, as he does in other works, that European civilization in all its facets, including the linguistic, actually derives from an ancient and idealized Arab(icate) culture.²⁶⁰

Aside from the Latin-Arabic translations mentioned above, the contemporary Arab reader now has access to various Arabic translations of classical, medieval and early modern texts. Translations of classical texts, definitely the largest group among the works translated, include works by the Roman authors Titus Maccius Plautus²⁶¹ (254-184 BCE), Publius Terentius Afer²⁶² (195/185-159 BCE), Marcus Terentius Varro²⁶³ (116-27 BCE), Caius Valerius Catullus²⁶⁴ (1st c. BCE), Publius Vergilius Maro²⁶⁵ (70-19 BCE), Quintus Horatius Flaccus²⁶⁶

260 Abderrahman Benatia, *Le substrat arabe de la langue latine*, Algiers, Editions Houma, 2010; also see *id.*, *Histoire de la colonisation arabe dans la Grèce antique*, Algiers, Editions Houma, 2005; *id.*, *Histoire d'une langue universelle: l'arabe*, Algiers, Editions Houma, 2006; *id.*, *Arabes et Indo-Européens: les Indo-Européens parlaient-ils l'arabe, à l'origine?*, Algiers, Editions Houma, 2008. These books were not accessible to me. The essential hypothesis seems to be summed up in a (positive) review article by 'Uṭmān Sa'dī, "Rūma warīṭa wa-muḡtāla Qarṭāḡ' li-'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Aṭīyya: ḡudūr Rūmā l-'urūbiyya" ["Rome as Heir and Assassin of Carthage" by 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Aṭīyya: The Arabicate Roots of Rome"], *al-Quds*, 7268 (29/10/2012), p. 10 (www.alquds.co.uk/pdfarchives/2012/10/10-28/qad.pdf, accessed 01/09/15); *al-ṭaqāfa l-yūnāniyya wa-l-ṭaqāfa l-rūmāniyya l-lātīniyya mā humā illā šurfā šaḡīra fī šarḥ al-ṭaqāfa l-'arabiyya l-kabīr, wa-l-naz'a l-ta'aṣṣubīyya l-ūrūbiyya aḥfat ḥādīhi l-ḥaqīqa li-tubrizā zūran anna ḡudūr al-ḥadāra l-ūrūbiyya yūnāniyya!* ("What are Greek and Roman-Latin culture if not a small outpost of the huge edifice of Arabic culture. European extremism, however, has hidden this truth to diffuse untruthfully that the roots of European civilization are Greek!").

261 Blāwtūs, *Ḥusnā Qūrīnā*, transl. 'Alī Fahmī Ḥuṣaym; *id.*, *Min al-adab al-tamṭīlī l-lātīnī: kanz al-baḥīl al-tū'amān*, transl. Aḥmad 'Abd al-Raḥīm Abū Zayd, Baghdad, Maṭba'at al-ma'ārif, 1969; *id.*, *Kūmīdiyyāt Blāwtūs*, transl. Amīn Salāma, Cairo, Dār al-ma'ārif, 2003.

262 Tarantīyūs, *Fūrmiyyū: al-ḥammā*, transl. Aḥmad 'Abd al-Raḥīm Abū Zayd, Cairo, Dār al-kutub al-miṣrī, 1959; *id.*, *Andriyā wa-l-iḥwān*, transl. Aḥmad Rif'at and Muḥammad Salīm, Cairo, Markaz kutub al-šarq al-awsaṭ, 1962; *id.*, *al-Ḥaṣṣā*, transl. Muḥammad Salīm Salīm and Aḥmad Rif'at, Cairo, Wizārat al-ṭaqāfa wa-l-i'rṣād al-qawmī, 1964.

263 Bārū, *al-Rūmān*, transl. 'Abd al-Razzāq Yusrī and Suhayr al-Qilmāwī, Cairo, Dār Nahḍat Miṣr li-l-ṭab' wa-l-naṣr, 1968.

264 Kātūlūs, *Muḥtārāt min al-qaṣā'id al-ḡazaliyya li-l-šā'ir Kātūlūs*, transl. 'Alā' Šābir, Cairo, al-Markaz al-qawmī li-l-tarḡama, 2010.

265 Firḡiliyūs, *al-Inyāda*, transl. 'Abd al-Mu'ṭī Ša'rāwī, Muḥammad Ḥamdī Ibrāhīm and Aḥmad Fu'ād al-Sammān, Cairo, al-Hay'a l-'amma li-l-kitāb, 1971, 1977; *al-Aniyāda*, transl. Aḥmad 'Itmān, Cairo, al-Hay'a l-miṣriyya l-'ammā li-l-kitāb, 1994.

266 Hūrātīyūs/Hūrās, *Fann al-šā'ir*, transl. Luwīs 'Awad, Cairo, al-Hay'a l-miṣriyya l-'amma li-l-ta'līf wa-l-naṣr, 1970, 1988; *id.*, *al-Kitāb al-awwal min al-rasā'il*, transl. 'Alī 'Abd al-Tawwāb

(65-8 BCE), Albius Tibullus²⁶⁷ (55-19 BCE), Publius Ovidius Naso²⁶⁸ (43 BCE-17/18 CE), Lucius Annaeus Seneca²⁶⁹ (4 BCE-65 CE), Titus Petronius Arbiter²⁷⁰ (14 BCE-66 CE), and Lucius Apuleius Madaurensis²⁷¹ (ca 125-170 CE). Important Latin authors such as Plinius, Suetonius or Tacitus are missing, however. Translations of the non-Christian and Latin-Christian literature produced in Late Antiquity are scarce in comparison: Arab academia has mainly the translations of Augustine of Hippo (354-430 CE), made at the beginning of the nineteenth century by Yuḥannā l-Ḥulū (d. 1823), to draw on.²⁷² The writings of Arnobius, Lactantius, Ambrosius of Milan, Ausonius, Prudentius, Aelius Donatus, Ammianus Marcellinus, Symmachus, Hilarius of Poitiers, Paulinus

and Ṣalāḥ Ramaḍān, Cairo, al-Mašrū' al-qawmī li-l-tarğama, 2003; *id.*, *Hūrātīyūs al-šā'ir wa-l-mufakkir: qirā'a fī rasā'il—al-kitāb al-awwal*, transl. 'Alī 'Abd al-Tawwāb and Ṣalāḥ Ramaḍān al-Sayyid, Cairo, al-Markaz al-qawmī li-l-tarğama, 2009; *id.*, *Hūrātīyūs wa-l-naqd al-adabī: qaṣīdat fann al-šī'r wa-l-kitāb al-tānī min al-rasā'il*, transl. 'Alī 'Abd al-Tawab, Cairo, al-Markaz al-qawmī li-l-tarğama, 2014.

- 267 Tibullūs, *Dīwān al-šā'ir al-rūmānī Tibullūs*, transl. 'Alī 'Abd al-Tawwāb and 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī Ṣābir, Cairo, Markaz ġāmi'at al-Qāhira li-l-luğāt wa-l-tarğama, 2012.
- 268 Ūfidiyūs, *Mash' al-kā'ināt*, transl. Tarwat 'Ukāša, Cairo, al-Hay'a l-mišriyya l-'āmmā li-l-kitāb, 1984 and 1992; *id.*, *Fann al-hawā*, transl. Tarwat 'Ukāša and Mağdī Wahba, Cairo, al-Hay'a l-mišriyya l-'āmmā li-l-kitāb, 1979 and 1990; *id.*, *al-Taḥawwulāt naqalahā li-l-'arabiyya Adūnīs*, transl. 'Alī Aḥmad Sa'id, Abū Ḍabī, al-Mağma' al-ṭaqāfi, 2002; *id.*, *rasā'il al-baṭalāt*, transl. 'Alī 'Abd al-Tawwāb and Bahā' al-Dīn Usāma, Cairo, Markaz ġāmi'at al-Qāhira li-l-luğāt wa-l-tarğama, 2012; *id.*, *Dīwān al-ğazaliyyāt li-l-šā'ir al-lātīnī Ūfidiyūs*, transl. 'Alā' Ṣābir, Cairo, al-Markaz al-qawmī li-l-tarğama, 2013.
- 269 Sinikā, *Ūdīb*, transl. Yūsuf al-Šārūnī, al-Kuwayt, Wizārat al-i'lām, 1976; *id.*, *Hiraql fawqa ġabal Awitā*, transl. Aḥmad 'Uṭmān, Kuwayt, Wizārat al-i'lām, 1981; *id.*, "Ūktāfiyā", transl. 'Abd al-'Azīm 'Abd al-Karīm, *Mağallat kulliyāt al-luğāt wa-l-tarğama bi-l-Azhar*, 7 (1982), p. 1-16, and 9 (1983), p. 122-195; *id.*, *Midīyā wa-Faydurā wa-Ağāmimnūn*, transl. 'Abd al-Mu'ṭī Ša'rāwī, Cairo, Maktabat al-anğlū l-mišriyya, 2002.
- 270 Bitrūniyūs, *Kitāb al-Sātīrikūn*, transl. Muḥammad Muḥammad Ḥasan Wahba, Cairo, Kulliyat al-ādāb ġāmi'at 'Ayn Šams, 1983.
- 271 'Alī Fahmī Ḥuṣaym, *Taḥawwulāt al-ğahš al-dahabī: riwāyat Abūliyyūs al-Madāwuri l-šahira "Metamorphoses", mutarğama ilā l-'Arabīyya ma'a muqaddima taḥlīliyya*, Cairo, Markaz al-ḥaḍāra l-'arabiyya, 1980, 1984, 2000; Cairo, Wizārat al-ṭaqāfa l-mišriyya, 2004.
- 272 Awğusṭīnūs, *I'tirāfāt al-qiddīs Awğusṭīnūs* [*Confessiones*], transl. Yuḥannā l-Ḥulūw, Beirut, Dār al-Mašriq, 1991⁴; *id.*, *Madīnat Allāh li-l-qiddīs Awğusṭīnūs* [*Civitas Dei*], transl. from French by Yuḥannā l-Ḥulūw, Beirut, Dār al-Mašriq, 2006²; *id.*, *Muḥāwarat al-dāt* [*Soliloquia*], transl. Yuḥannā l-Ḥulūw, Beirut, Dār al-Mašriq, 2012; *id.*, *Ḥawāṭir faylasūf fī l-ḥayāt al-rūḥiyya li-l-qiddīs Awğusṭīnūs*, transl. Yuḥannā l-Ḥulūw, Beirut, Dār al-Mašriq, 2013. On the translator see Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, III, p. 414, 476, 478, 495, 510; IV, p. 207.

of Nola, Juvenius, Rufinus of Aquileia, Claudian, Sulpicius Severus, Martianus Capella, etc. are not available in Arabic translation. At the time of writing, their authors often did not even feature an Arabic Wikipedia-entry. This observation is equally valid for the Latin-Christian literature of the early Middle Ages. One searches in vain for the works of Bede the Venerable, Gregory the Great, Gregory of Tours, etc., a translation of Einhard's *Vita Karoli magni* being the notable exception.²⁷³ Literature of the high Middle Ages has equally not been translated. Among the few exceptions we find a compilation of medieval sources,²⁷⁴ shorter texts that feature as an annex to a study on diplomatic relations between the Staufens and the Ayyubid dynasty,²⁷⁵ as well as a compilation of sources concerning the crusading period.²⁷⁶ With regard to the latter, an Arab reader has access to the translated works of William of Tyre²⁷⁷ and Raymond of Aguilers.²⁷⁸ Thanks to the earlier translations of the nineteenth century, the *Summa theologica* of Thomas Aquinas is also available.²⁷⁹ With regards to early modern Latin literature, and aside from the many pious works on Christianity translated by Middle Eastern Christians, only two Latin works

273 Aynhård, *Sirat Šārlamān*, transl. ʿĀdil Zaytūn, Damascus, Dār Ḥassān, 1989.

274 Maḥmūd Saʿīd ʿUmrān, *Nuṣūṣ tāriḥiyya min maṣādir al-ʿuṣūr al-wuṣṭā*, Cairo, Dār al-maʿrifa l-ġāmiʿiyya, 2009, unfortunately not accessible to me.

275 ʿĀdil ʿAbd al-Ḥāfiẓ ʿUṭmān Ḥamza Šihāta, *al-ʿAlāqāt al-siyāsiyya bayna l-imbarātūriyya l-rūmāniyya l-muqaddasa wa-l-šarq al-islāmī*, Cairo, Madbūlī, 1989, p. 347-399. Note that the author translated some of these texts from Latin, others from English.

276 Qāsim ʿAbduḥ Qāsim, *al-Ḥurūb al-šālibiyya: nuṣūṣ wa-waṭāʾiq: al-ḥamla l-ūlā 1095-1099, qāma bi-ġamʿihā wa-tarġamatihā Qāsim ʿAbduḥ Qāsim*, Cairo, al-ʿArabiyya li-l-dirāsāt wa-l-naṣr, 1985.

277 Wilyam al-Šūrī, *al-Ḥurūb al-šālibiyya*, transl. Ḥasan Ḥabašī, Cairo, al-Hayʾa l-miṣriyya l-ʿamma li-l-kitāb, 1991. Various later crusader chronicles, originally written in Old French, have also been translated by Ḥasan Ḥabašī, i.e. Jean de Joinville, Robert de Clari and Geoffrey of Villehardouin: Ġuwānfil, *Muḍakkirāt Ġuwānfil, al-qiddis Luwis ḥayātuhu wa-ḥamalātuhu ʿalā Miṣr*, transl. Ḥasan Ḥabašī, Cairo, Dār al-maʿarif, 1968; Rūbart Klārī, *Muḍakkirāt Rūbart Klārī, fath al-Quṣṭanīniyya*, transl. Ḥasan Ḥabašī, Cairo, Dār al-kitāb al-ʿarabī, 1384[1964]; Filhārdwūn, *Muḍakkirāt Filhārdwūn, fath al-Quṣṭanīniyya*, transl. Ḥasan Ḥabašī, Ġadda, al-Maġlis al-ʿilmī, 1403[1983].

278 Rāymūnd Aġīl, *Taʾriḥ al-Faraṅa ġazzāt bayt al-maqdis*, transl. Ḥusayn Muḥammad ʿAṭiyya, Alexandria, Dār al-maʿrifa l-ġāmiʿiyya, 1990.

279 Tūmā al-Akwīnī, *Kitāb al-ḥalāša l-lāhūtiyya li-l-qiddis Tūmā al-Akwīnī*, transl. Būlus ʿAwwād, Beirut, Dār Šādir, 1887-1908.

of world literature seem to have been translated, *i.e.* Thomas Moore's *Utopia*²⁸⁰ as well as Erasmus of Rotterdam's *Praise of Folly*.²⁸¹

Explaining the Status of Latin in the Arabic-Islamic Sphere: “Linguistic Apathy” vs “Oral Approach”

The last part of this article is dedicated to the question why Latin received such little attention in the Arabic-Islamic sphere until the fourteenth/twentieth century and still remains a rather peripheral topic of study in the Arab world of our times. Latin had an—albeit limited—impact on the early formation of Arabic in Antiquity; it represented an important linguistic heritage in western regions under medieval Arabic-Islamic rule such as North Africa and the Iberian Peninsula; it was the primary written language of neighbouring European-Christian societies throughout the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period. Considering this, one wonders why this heritage remained unkempt for such long periods of Arabic-Islamic history.

Bernard Lewis is among the earliest scholars who made an effort to answer this question. He believed that Muslims of the medieval and early modern period were convinced of their own superiority in terms of religion and civilization and, in consequence, displayed arrogance, ignorance and a lack of curiosity *vis-à-vis* the cultural achievements of Christian Europe until they were eventually steamrolled by European colonialism and imperialism in the thirteenth/nineteenth century.²⁸² Lewis went as far as asserting that interest in alien cultures was a “peculiarity of the [...] Western European during a certain period in his history.”²⁸³ Lewis' explanatory model also has strong linguistic implications.²⁸⁴ According to Lewis, interest in other languages was not necessary in an Arabic-Islamic sphere, “where Arabic was the sole language of religion, commerce, and culture”²⁸⁵ and where “knowledge of foreign

280 Tūmās Mūr, *Yūtūbiyā*, transl. Anġil Buṭrus Samʿān, Cairo, al-Hayʿa l-l-amma li-l-kitāb, 1987.

281 Arāsmūs Fūn Rūtardām, *Madīḥ al-ḥamāqa*, transl. Muḥammad Ġadid, Damascus, Wizārat al-ṭaqāfa l-sūriyya, 2007.

282 Bernard Lewis, “The Muslim Discovery of Europe”, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 20/1-3 (1957), p. 411, 415-416; *id.*, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe*, New York, W.W. Norton, 2001 (reprint of 1982), p. 115, 299-301; *id.*, *What Went Wrong? Western Impact and Middle Eastern Response*, London, Phoenix, 2002, p. 3-4, 7-8.

283 *Id.*, *The Muslim Discovery*, p. 9.

284 See *ibid.*, p. 71-88, under the heading “On Language and Translation”.

285 *Ibid.*, p. 298.

languages was not an esteemed qualification".²⁸⁶ If they did not make use of the linguistic skills of religious minorities, Muslims resorted to the *lingua franca*, the only "European" language used by greater numbers of Muslims until the fourteenth/nineteenth century. Only when faced with European modernity, Muslims began to understand the value of studying languages other than Arabic.²⁸⁷ Lewis' portrayal of an arrogant, uninterested and (linguistically) inward-looking Arabic-Islamic sphere has been criticized as monocausal and essentializing by many scholars.²⁸⁸ Refusing to treat the Islamic world as one monolithic block, scholarship of the last decades has unearthed miscellaneous evidence that points to an Arabic-Islamic sphere much more involved with Christian Europe linguistically than Lewis has claimed. In this context, the acknowledgement of regional variants was and is of utmost importance.

That Latin and Romance languages played a rather insignificant role in the early Islamic Middle East is not surprising, considering that this region only maintained few direct relations with the Latin-Christian sphere in the West.²⁸⁹ After the Roman conquest of the Middle East in Antiquity, Latin only re-entered the eastern Mediterranean as a language of power and prestige in the course of the crusading movement. However, now it was only one of several, and not the most dominant Western European language to be introduced to the region. Whereas the acts of the crusader council of Nablus (1120) were still formulated in Latin, later crusader legislation as documented in the *Assises de Jérusalem* is in French.²⁹⁰ Crusader Cyprus of the ninth/fifteenth century produced documents that do not conform to the standards of medieval Latin and have even been identified as the earliest evidence of the Mediterranean *lingua franca*.²⁹¹ Venetian-Mamluk relations in this period are conducted in Arabic and the Venetian variant of Italo-Romance.²⁹² Latin remained in use only in confined ecclesiastical circles, these also marked by multilingualism.²⁹³ Consequently,

286 Lewis, "The Muslim Discovery", p. 415; *id.*, *The Muslim Discovery*, p. 81.

287 *Ibid.*, p. 81.

288 Cf. König, *Arabic-Islamic Views*, p. 20-21, with further literature.

289 Cf. *ibid.*, p. 198-201, 288-290.

290 Benjamin Z. Kedar, "On the Origins of the Earliest Laws of Frankish Jerusalem: The Canons of the Council of Nablus, 1120", *Speculum*, 74 (1999), p. 310-335; Aslanov, *Le français*, p. 33-110.

291 Cf. Jean Richard, *Documents chypriotes des Archives du Vatican (XIV^e et XV^e siècles)*, Paris, Paul Geuthner ("Bibliothèque archéologique et historique", 73), 1962, p. 22-30.

292 See the evidence compiled in the section "The Limited Diffusion of Andalusian Knowledge on Latin in North Africa."

293 Cf. Concilium Nicosiense, Confessio Fidei, § 14, in *The Synodicum Nicosiense and Other Documents of the Latin Church of Cyprus 1196-1373*, ed. and transl. Christopher David

the few words of European-Christian origin documented in Arabic-Islamic sources from the Middle East of this later period are Romance in nature, not Latin.²⁹⁴ Ottoman maritime terminology was influenced by Italian, not by Latin,²⁹⁵ whereas the arrival of Sephardic Jewish refugees in the Ottoman Middle East in the ninth/fifteenth and tenth/sixteenth century introduced an additional variant of Romance to the Middle East.²⁹⁶ Thus, when European-Christian activities began to have an impact on the eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East, the status of Latin as the primary written language of European Christians had already been challenged from within.

In Roman North Africa, Latin had been confined to the coastal regions. The Byzantine overlay produced by Justinian's reconquest of Vandal North Africa, the new role assigned to the Berber population as well as the shift of power centres from the coast to the hinterland during and after the Muslim conquest,²⁹⁷ seems to have contributed to the fact that Latin was only retained in a few enclaves.²⁹⁸ As a language of power and prestige, Latin re-entered North Africa as the written language of Italian, Catalan and French merchant communities of the high and late Middle Ages. As we have seen, scores of documents testify not only to their intensive diplomatic and economic relations with Muslim North Africa but also to the participation of various Muslims in highly complex linguistic transactions involving the Latin language,²⁹⁹ a fact Arabic-Islamic intellectuals seem to have dissimulated in traditional genres of Arabic

Schabel, Nikosia, Cyprus Research Centre ("Sources et études de l'histoire de Chypre", 39), 2001, p. 258.

294 See the evidence compiled in "The Limited Diffusion of Andalusian Knowledge on Latin in the Middle East".

295 Cf. Kahane *et al.*, *Lingua franca*.

296 Aslanov, *Le français*, p. 172-184.

297 Cf. Averil Cameron, "The Byzantine Reconquest of North Africa and the Impact of Greek Culture", *Graeco-Arabica*, 5 (1993), p. 153-165; Michael Brett and Elisabeth Fentress, *The Berbers*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1996, p. 81-83; Walter E. Kaegi, *Muslim Expansion and Byzantine Collapse in North Africa*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010, p. 69-91, 268-300.

298 Cf. Max Leopold Wagner, *Restos de Latinidad en el Norte de Africa*, Coimbra, Biblioteca de Universidade ("Biblioteca general da Universidade", 45-46), 1936; Tadeusz Lewicki, "Une langue romane oubliée de l'Afrique du Nord : observations d'un arabisant", *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, 17 (1951-1952), p. 415-480; Joseph M. Piel, "Review of 'Une langue romane oubliée'", *Romanische Forschungen* 70/1-2 (1958), p. 137-141; Christian Schmitt, "Die verlorene Romanität in Afrika: Afrolatein/Afroromanisch", *Romanische Sprachgeschichte*, 1, p. 668-675; Virginie Prevost, "Les dernières communautés chrétiennes autochtones d'Afrique du Nord", *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 4 (2007), p. 461-483.

299 König, "Übersetzungskontrolle", p. 478-483.

literature.³⁰⁰ However, the shift from written Latin to written Romance, already observed in connection with the eastern Mediterranean, can also be traced in North Africa. The translated correspondence as well as the scores of bilingual treaties concluded by the Crown of Aragon and the communal governments of Pisa, Genoa and Venice, shift from Latin to Catalan, Pisan, Genoese and Venetian in the course of the seventh/thirteenth and eighth/fourteenth century: a letter written by the Hafsīd government to the commune of Pisa in 1269 in Arabic letters but in the Pisan dialect, provides a telling example.³⁰¹ The large numbers of Muslims, later Moriscos, leaving the Iberian Peninsula for North Africa during and after the end of the so-called Reconquista, strengthened the use of Romance languages in Muslim societies of North Africa,³⁰² which even led to the production of various Arabic translations of Ibero-Romance texts.³⁰³ While it remains doubtful if the linguistic skills of Andalusian refugees involved mastery of Latin, it is obvious that North Africa did not become a centre of Latin studies or Latin-Arabic translations in the Early Modern Age.³⁰⁴

On the Iberian Peninsula, the Muslim invasion of 92/711 had set off a process of Arabization among the subjected Christian populations. Notwithstanding, most specialists believe that Romance languages continued to play an important role in Andalusian society, not only among Christians, Christian converts to Islam and their descendants, but also among Jews and the descendants of

300 Mansouri, "Milieux marchands", p. 283.

301 Amari, *I Diplomi*, p. 119. See the evidence compiled in the section "The Limited Diffusion of Andalusian Knowledge on Latin in North Africa".

302 Aside from the example of Aḥmad Abū Qāsim, see Gerard A. Wiegiers, "The Andalusī Heritage in the Maghreb: The Polemical Work of Muḥammad Alguazir (fl. 1610)", in *Poetry, Politics and Polemics: Cultural Transfer Between the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa*, ed. Otto Zwartjes, Geert Jan van Gelder and Eduardus Cornelius Maria de Moor, Amsterdam, Rodopi ("Orientations", 4), 1996, p. 109-110, 114. On the Spanish spoken by these Moriscos see de Epalza and Slama-Gafsi, *El español hablado en Túnez*.

303 Al-Manūnī, "Zāhira ta'ribiyya", p. 329-358.

304 Cf. de Epalza and Slama-Gafsi, *El español hablado en Túnez*, p. 82: "El latín y el hebreo son dos lenguas 'muertas' en la Tunicia del siglo xvii, conocidas por muy pequeñas minorías de sus habitantes, de origen extranjero en su mayor parte." Wiegiers, "Moriscos", p. 610, claims in turn: "Mudejars and Moriscos probably read and possessed Latin and Spanish texts. The possession of such texts among Moriscos has not yet been studied systematically. Needless to say, such a study would not be easy, for the Mudejars and Moriscos in question probably differed very little from the old Christian Spanish population in respect of their literary and scholarly culture. But they, too, brought their learning with them to the other side of the Mediterranean during the expulsions, where it aroused the interest of the Moroccan authorities, especially in court circles."

immigrated Muslims.³⁰⁵ The fact that Romance elements had a considerable impact on Andalusī Arabic speaks in favour of such hypotheses.³⁰⁶ The highly disputed phenomenon of the Romance *ḥarǧa* in Andalusian *muwašṣaḥ*-poetry proves that Romance had an impact on Arabic even in the literary sphere.³⁰⁷ In consequence, Muslims were also able to contribute to the Arabic-Romance-Latin as well as the Arabic-Castilian translation movements of the sixth/twelfth and seventh/thirteenth century, or to be active as language teachers as in the case of the slave of Ramon Llull.³⁰⁸ The large production and variety of Aljamiado literature, a literature produced mainly, but not only, by (crypto-) Muslims under Christian rule and defined by the use of the Arabic alphabet to pen down a Romance dialect, testifies to the wide diffusion of Romance languages among Muslims in al-Andalus,³⁰⁹ linguistic knowledge that was then transferred to North Africa in the course and wake of the Reconquista.

It should be underscored in this context that the Moriscos as well as the exponents of so-called "Latin-Christian" expansionism who entered the

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- 305 See the overview in Otto Zwartjes, "al-Andalus", in *Encyclopaedia of the Arabic Language*, ed. Kees Versteegh, Leiden, Brill, 2008, I, p. 96-101; cf. David Wasserstein, "The Language Situation in al-Andalus", in *Studies on the Muwašṣaḥ and the Kharja*, ed. Alan Jones and Richard Hitchcock, Reading, Ithaca ("Oxford Oriental Institute monographs", 12), 1991, p. 1-15; María Ángeles Gallego García, "The Languages of Medieval Iberia and their Religious Dimension", *Medieval Encounters*, 9/1 (2003), p. 107-139; Ángeles Vicente, *El proceso de arabización de Alandalús: Un caso medieval de interacción de lenguas*, Zaragoza, Inst. de Estudios Islámicos y del Oriente Próximo ("Conocer Alandalús", 4), 2007, p. 45-82.
- 306 Cf. Federico Corriente, *Arabe andalusí y lenguas romances*, Madrid, Mapfre ("Colección Al-Andalus", 1), 1992; Vicente, *El proceso*, p. 45-82.
- 307 Emilio García Gómez, *Las jarchas romances de la serie árabe en su marco*, Madrid, Alianza ("Alianza Universidad", 652), 1990, p. 19-75; considerably problematized in Federico Corriente, *Poesía dialectal árabe y romance en Alandalús*, Madrid, Gredos ("Biblioteca Románica Hispánica. II, Estudios y ensayos", 407), 1997; and Otto Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus: History, Structure and Meaning of the Kharja*, Leiden-New York-Köln, Brill ("Medieval Iberian peninsula", 11), 1997.
- 308 On Muslim collaborators in Arabic-Latin/Romance translations, see d'Alverny, "Traductions à deux interprètes", p. 194, 199, 202-203; König, *Arabic-Islamic Views*, p. 163; on Ramón Llull see Olivia Remie Constable (ed.), *Medieval Iberia: Readings from Christian, Muslim, and Jewish Sources*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press ("The Middle Ages series"), 2012, p. 410.
- 309 Consuelo López-Morillas, "Language and Identity in Late Spanish Islam", *Hispanic Review*, 63/2 (1995), p. 193-210; Ottmar Hegyi, "Sprache im Grenzgebiet zwischen Islam und Christentum: Die Aljamiado-Literatur", in *Romania Arabica*, p. 325-334; Brian A. Catlos, *Muslims of Medieval Latin Christendom, c. 1050-1614*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2014, p. 448-451.

Mediterranean sphere as participants in the crusades, the Reconquista or merchant activities, were, in their majority, not intellectuals, thus Romance-, rather than Latin-speakers. The few Latin-Christian intellectuals working on Arabic-Latin translations in Toledo, Sicily and Antioch as well as the handful of ecclesiastically trained notaries active in fondacos in Muslim North Africa could not measure up numerically with the masses of Romance-speaking Muslims or Christian fighters, merchants, sailors, administrators, etc. who were in direct touch with Muslim populations on the Iberian Peninsula, on Mediterranean islands, in southern Italy, North Africa and the Middle East.

The preceding argument shows clearly that Lewis' hypothesis of the Islamic sphere's linguistic seclusion and apathy can be successfully challenged. It is thus necessary to consider an alternative model of linguistic relations between Christian Europe and the Arabic-Islamic sphere. Such a model is provided in Jocelyne Dakhli's study on the Mediterranean *lingua franca* of the Early Modern Period. Dakhli discusses the linguistic implications of what she regards as two different methods of integrating the respective other into European-Christian and Muslim societies around the Mediterranean. According to Dakhli, Christian Europe ultimately failed to integrate Muslims as persons, but created various chairs for the study of Arabic in the Early Modern Period. The Mediterranean Islamic sphere, in turn, accommodated large numbers of Andalusian refugees, renegades as well as European Christians in various, not only subaltern functions, thus disposing of the linguistic resources necessary to communicate with Christian Europe.³¹⁰ In line with this argument, Dakhli draws a clear distinction between the written and the oral sphere.

310 Jocelyne Dakhli, *Lingua franca: Histoire d'une langue métisse en Méditerranée*, Arles, Actes Sud ("Bleu"), 2008, p. 39: "Quant à l'ouverture à l'autre, on peut envisager, sur un mode culturaliste faisant écho à celui de Lewis, qu'il y a deux façons de gérer ces rapports : la première est d'apprendre à connaître l'étranger, pour mieux maîtriser la relation; la seconde est d'apprendre à le tenir à distance. À moins que la différence ne réside dans le statut fonctionnel de l'étranger. L'Europe, ainsi, crée dès le premier âge moderne des chaires d'études orientales, mais elle n'intègre pas un seul musulman parmi ses élites politiques. Les Musulmans n'étudient pas les langues européennes, mais ils permettent à des Européens d'accéder chez eux aux plus hautes fonctions sociales et politiques. Les Français finissent par produire des 'jeunes de langues', de jeunes interprètes français, formés aux langues orientales ; les Musulmans recourent principalement à des minoritaires ou à des 'renégats' pour leurs besoins d'interprètes, à des non-Musulmans ou à des trans-fuges qui ont donné, en principe, des garanties de leur loyauté. Ces deux méthodes ont chacune leur rationalité et leurs limites. Paradoxalement, les Musulmans, qui semblent si indifférents à identifier et à connaître leurs interlocuteurs européens, leur font une large place à tous les niveaux de l'échelle sociale et sont prêts à les assimiler, à les 'indigéniser'.

She assumes that the written language Latin failed to arouse interest among Muslims because of its sacral and liturgical resonances. For ideological and practical reasons, Romance languages, the dominant languages of communication in the early modern Mediterranean, were thus more accessible to Muslims, producing a particular “oral approach” of Muslims to early modern European-Christian societies.³¹¹

Dakhliā's hypotheses provide a more differentiated alternative to Lewis' essentialist model. Notwithstanding, it seems necessary to elaborate more on the reasons why Muslim societies in the Mediterranean developed this particular “oral approach” to European-Christian societies. Dakhliā's explanation that a systematic study of Latin in Muslim societies did not develop because of the ideological resonance of Latin as a particularly Christian language, remains unsatisfying. We may, of course, consider Latin and Arabic as the respective domains of a specific caste of Latin-Christian and Arabic-Islamic religious scholars that did not really intersect, as Richard Bulliet has done.³¹² Such an approach fails to explain, however, why the Arabic-Islamic sphere did not develop a comparable “oral approach” to Greek and Syriac, although both languages have equal or even stronger Christian resonances than Latin—Greek being the language of the New Testament, Syriac being the language of a specific Christian community in the pre-Islamic and Islamic Middle East. We thus have to explain why Arabic-Islamic intellectual culture deemed Greek and Syriac texts more interesting than their Latin equivalents.

The Appeal of Latin Texts: Graeco-Syriac-Arabic vs Latin-Arabic Translations

It is well known that a great number of Greek and Syriac texts were translated into Arabic in the early centuries of Islam.³¹³ Although the Graeco-

Cela pourrait constituer une réponse : deux modes d'être face à l'alterité, dont on voit bien qu'ils procèdent de schémas opposés.”

311 *Ibid.*, p. 97: “Seuls les Chrétiens orientaux, ou certains d'entre eux, parmi les Maronites notamment, apprennent le latin, il ne sert jamais autrement à la communication entre chrétiens et musulmans. Les résonances sacrales, liturgiques du latin peuvent expliquer ce désintérêt des musulmans, mais il semble qu'il participe aussi d'un type de rapport à l'Europe qui exclut l'apprentissage écrit des langues européennes.”

312 Richard Bulliet, *The Case for Islamo-Christian Civilization*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2004, p. 24-25.

313 Dimitri Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture: The Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early 'Abbāsīd Society (2nd-4th/8th-10th Centuries)*, London-New York, Routledge, 1998.

Syriac-Arabic translation movement of the second/eighth to fourth/tenth centuries was highly dependent on Christian intermediaries,³¹⁴ it was generously sponsored by Abbasid elites, and thus cannot be classified in terms of a purely Christian endeavour.³¹⁵ As opposed to the Latin-Arabic translations of Oriental Christians in the tenth/sixteenth to thirteenth/nineteenth centuries, the Graeco-Syriac-Arabic translation movement had a considerable impact on Muslim intellectual culture. The receptivity of early Arabic-Islamic culture *vis-à-vis* the Graeco-Syriac heritage was already noted by Ibn Ḥaldūn³¹⁶ and contrasted by Lewis with a later period, when “Islam was crystallised in its ways of thought and behaviour, and had become impervious to external stimuli—especially from the millenary adversary in the West.”³¹⁷ One could bolster Lewis’ explanation by highlighting that the great movements of translation to Arabic—from Greek, Persian and Latin in the second/eighth to fourth/tenth centuries, from various European languages including Latin from the eleventh/seventeenth to the fifteenth/twenty-first century—are separated by around six-hundred years, in which Arabic language and literature seem to have drawn on little external inspiration.³¹⁸ Seen from this perspective, the Persian-Arabic and Graeco-Syriac-Arabic translation movement of the second/eighth to fourth/tenth centuries had introduced Arabic-Islamic intellectual culture to the most important scientific and literary treasures available in the former Sassanid and Byzantine sphere, thus making further translation activity seems superfluous in the Mediterranean sphere until the rise of an imposing European scientific culture could no longer be ignored. This image of an Islamic civilization opening up in its early period of efflorescence, but shutting out external stimuli

314 Gérard Troupeau, “Le rôle des syriaques dans la transmission et l’exploitation du patrimoine philosophique et scientifique grec”, *Arabica*, 38 (1991), p. 1-10; Javier Teixidor, “D’Antioche à Bagdad. Bibliothèques et traductions syriaques”, in *Des Alexandries: du livre au texte*, ed. Luce Giard and Christian Jacob, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (“Colloque”), 2001, p. 249-262.

315 Cf. Martin Kintzinger and Daniel G. König, “Arabisch-islamisches Erbe und europäische Identität”, in Sylvain Gougenheim, *Aristoteles auf dem Mont Saint-Michel: Die griechischen Wurzeln des christlichen Abendlandes*, transl. Jochen Grube, Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2011, p. 230-241.

316 Ibn Ḥaldūn, *Ta’rīḥ*, I, p. 632-633.

317 Lewis, “The Muslim Discovery”, p. 415.

318 This period features no further translation movement. Although not completely isolated from other literatures, Arabic-Islamic literature of this period tends to elaborate on material made accessible until the tenth century, cf. *Essays in Arabic Literary Biography, 925-1350*, ed. Terri De Young and Mary St. Germain, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2011; (eds), *Essays in Arabic Literary Biography, 1350-1850*, ed. Joseph E. Lowry, Devin J. Stewart, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2009.

in its period of rigidification and decadence builds on the assumption that Islamic intellectual culture went through a kind of “natural” life-cycle that, hastened by an ideologically-based defiance of Christian Europe, forcibly ended in a period of intellectual seclusion and decline.

From this point of view, Latin-Arabic translations in al-Andalus of the fourth/ninth to fifth/tenth century only served to provide a historiographical complement of ultimately regional significance to a much greater and more important body of translations produced in the Middle East during the early period of the Islamic sphere’s “civilizational efflorescence.” As a matter of fact, the Latin-Arabic translation movement in al-Andalus was of considerably smaller scope. Primarily, it involved the Arabic translation of a handful of Latin texts compiled in the *Kitāb Hurūšiyūš*. The latter is made up of Orosius’ restructured *Historiae adversus paganos* as well as translated excerpts of other Latin works, including the cosmography of Julius Honorius (fl. 4th–5th c.), the *Chronica*, the *Etymologiae* and the *Historia Gothorum* of Isidore of Seville (d. 636) as well as one or several of his continuators.³¹⁹ We can probably add to that a Frankish chronicle presented to the future caliph al-Ḥakam II in Córdoba and used by al-Mas’ūdī in al-Fuṣṭāṭ, although nothing is known about the original language or the probable translation of this chronicle.³²⁰ Aside from a Latin-Arabic translation of the Psalter and the New Testament in the same period,³²¹ these were the only texts translated from Latin to Arabic in the Arabic-Islamic sphere until the modern age—unless we consider translated Latin-Arabic correspondence between the high and late medieval Apennine Peninsula and North Africa as well as the bilingual treaties produced in the same context as “proper” translations.

319 *Kitāb Hurūšiyūš*, p. 16 (ar.), p. 47–66, p. 99–119 (introducción); Hans Daiber, “Orosius’ *Historiae adversus paganos* in arabischer Überlieferung”, in *Tradition and Re-Interpretation in Jewish and Early Christian Literature: Essays in Honour of Jürgen C.H. Lebram*, ed. Jan Willem van Henten, Leiden, E.J. Brill, (“*Studia post-biblica*”, 36) 1986, p. 202–249; Jean-Charles Ducène, “Al-Bakrī et les Étymologies d’Isidore de Séville”, *Journal Asiatique*, 297/2 (2009), p. 379–397.

320 Cf. Rania Abdellatif, Yassir Benhima, Daniel König and Elisabeth Ruchaud, “Introduction à l’étude des transferts culturels”, in *Construire la Méditerranée, penser les transferts culturels: approches historiographiques et perspectives de recherches*, eds Rania Abdellatif, Yassir Benhima, Daniel König and Elisabeth Ruchaud, Munich, Oldenbourg Verlag, 2012, p. 27.

321 On this translation by Ishāq b. Balaṣk al-Qurṭubī, produced in 946 AD, see Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, I, p. 167. For fragments of a translation of Pauline letters see p. 179–180.

In this context, one could note that various scholars have claimed that these Latin-Arabic translations produced in al-Andalus were originally intended for inner-Christian use only and, consequently, do not represent a written manifestation of Muslim interest in Latin texts. This applies, of course, to the translations of the Psalter and the New Testament, which served the needs of Arabicized Christians under Muslim rule, but is doubtful with regard to the *Kitāb Hurūšiyūš*. Since it is unclear, if the latter was actually produced at the orders or in the direct environment of the Umayyad court, as some Arabic-Islamic sources purport, several scholars have claimed that this work was actually composed in an entirely Christian milieu where it is said to have served the self-assertion of Arabicized Christians in al-Andalus *vis-à-vis* dominant Arabic-Islamic culture.³²² This interpretation can be called into question if one considers that the production of the *Kitāb Hurūšiyūš* has to be placed into a general intellectual atmosphere, in which Arabic-Islamic scholars of al-Andalus systematically began investigating the pre-Islamic past of the Iberian Peninsula, thus unearthing information that ultimately derived from Latin sources.³²³ We must concede, nonetheless, that the number of Latin-Arabic translations in al-Andalus cannot measure up to the much larger number of translations from Greek, Syriac and Persian to Arabic. In consequence, we must explain why only such a small number of Latin texts was translated into Arabic in a region that actually boasted a strong Latin heritage.

The argument that Andalusian intellectual culture was oriented towards the Middle East and therefore displayed no interest in its immediate environment is certainly valid for the period between the second/eighth and the middle of the third/ninth century.³²⁴ However, it does not apply anymore from the late

322 Mayte Penelas, "A Possible Author of the Arabic Translation of Orosius' *Historiae*", *al-Masāq*, 13 (2001), p. 113-135; Hans Daiber, "Weltgeschichte als Unheilsgeschichte: Die arabische Übersetzung von Orosius' *Historiae adversus paganos* als Warnung an die Muslime", in *Christlicher Norden-Muslimischer Süden: Ansprüche und Wirklichkeiten von Christen, Juden und Muslimen auf der Iberischen Halbinsel im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter*, ed. Matthias Tischler and Alexander Fidora, Münster, Aschendorff ("Erudiri Sapientia", 7), 2011, p. 191-199.

323 König, *Arabic-Islamic Views*, p. 50-52, 84-86, 134-141, 161-170, 182-184.

324 Cf. Maḥmūd Makkī, "Ensayo sobre las aportaciones orientales en la España musulmana", *Revista del instituto egipcio de estudios islámicos en Madrid*, 9-10 (1961-1962), p. 65-92; 'Abd al-Wāḥid Dū l-Nūn Ṭaha, *Naṣat al-tadwīn al-tārīḥi fi l-Andalus*, Baghdad, Dār al-ṣu'ūn al-ṭaqāfiyya l-'amma, 1988; Maribel Fierro, "Entre Bagdad y Córdoba. Centro y periferia en el mundo del saber islámico (siglos III/IX-VI/XII)", in *Iraq y al-Andalus: Oriente en el Occidente islámico*, ed. Salvador Peña Martín, Almería, Fundación Ibn Tufayl ("Estudios andalusíes", 2), 2009, p. 63-90.

third/ninth and fourth/tenth century onwards. Now Andalusian scholars produced one work after the other centred on al-Andalus itself—its scholars, its history, its geography, etc.³²⁵ It would thus seem logical that Arabic-Islamic scholars of al-Andalus, having “tasted blood” during the reception of the *Kitāb Hurūšiyūš* and related texts as well the chronicle of Frankish kings, would have begun delving into other Latin sources, either directly or via translations still to be produced. We should consider several explanations why this did not happen.

Adopting a wider perspective, one could argue that the Latin literature available in the Middle Ages did not have much to offer to non-Christian intellectuals in search of relevant knowledge. Although one should not belittle the achievements of Latin literary culture, pre-Christian Roman literature was, in large parts, modelled on its earlier Greek equivalent: Cicero’s writings build on Greek authors as does Pliny’s *Natural History*, whereas Virgil’s *Aeneid* elaborates on Greek epic poetry. In the sixth century CE, Cassiodor and Boethius still emphasized the necessity of translating scientific texts from Greek to Latin.³²⁶ Pre-Christian Roman historiography in Latin was largely restricted to particular regions, periods or ruling elites. It is perhaps no coincidence that Orosius’ *Historiae adversus paganos*, the first and for a long time only work of universal history in Latin,³²⁷ is the only Latin work of historiography to have received the attention of medieval Arabic-Islamic scholars—in spite of its strong Christian overtones. Latin-Christian literature of the Middle Ages, in turn, focuses on Christian themes that were of no particular interest to Muslims. Scientific literature was scarce and, until the Arabic-Latin translation movement of the sixth/twelfth century, mainly reproduced or elaborated on ancient Greek or Roman models. If available to Muslims at all, medieval Latin historiography, in

325 König, *Arabic-Islamic Views*, p. 51, 168.

326 Michael von Albrecht, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur von Andronicus bis Boëthius: mit Berücksichtigung ihrer Bedeutung für die Neuzeit*, Munich, Dt. Taschenbuch-Verlag, 2009, I, p. 11-13, 49-51, 514-515, 713-714, 1027-1029. Also see the articles by Simon Swain, “Bilingualism and Translation in the Educational System of Ancient Rome”, in *Übersetzung-Translation-Traduction: An International Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, ed. Harald Kittel, Berlin-New York, de Gruyter (“Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft”, 26), 2007, III, p. 1225-31; Jonathan G.F. Powell, “Translation and Culture in Ancient Rome: Cicero’s Theory and Practice of Translation”, in *Übersetzung-Translation-Traduction*, III, p. 1132-1137; and Stephen J. Harrison, “Translation and Culture in Ancient Rome: Virgil and the Practice of Imitatio”, in *Übersetzung-Translation-Traduction*, III, p. 1137-1143.

327 Andrew H. Merrills, *History and Geography in Late Antiquity*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press (“Cambridge studies in medieval life and thought. Fourth series”, 64), 2005, p. 46.

turn, had a regional focus³²⁸ that was only of relevance to Muslims in regions inhabited by Muslims—hence the inclusion of Isidore of Seville and his continuators into the *Kitāb Hurūšiyūš*. As opposed to this, Greek and Graeco-Syriac literature were the carriers of universal knowledge from the fields of astronomy, geography, mathematics, medicine, philosophy, etc., knowledge that was not bound to a particular ethnic group, region or religion. Either building on this literary heritage or commenting on regional or religious specificities, pre-Christian Latin-Roman and Latin-Christian literature could offer only few texts of interest to an Arabic-Islamic sphere possessing direct access to the Greek literary heritage. These include universal historiography containing ample information on the western Mediterranean (e.g. Orosius' *Historiae*) as well as outstanding encyclopaedic works (e.g. Isidore's *Etymologiae*), both of which received a certain recognition in Arabic-Islamic scholarship.

However, this argument alone does not suffice to explain why Andalusian scholars did not delve deeper into the Latin literature available in al-Andalus. One must also consider regional circumstances that impeded a more intensive Latin-Arabic translation movement on the Iberian Peninsula, first and foremost a rather sudden change of political climate around the sixth/twelfth century. The influence of Latin sources on Muslim Andalusian historiography only begins to clearly manifest itself in the works of Ibn Ḥayyān, Ibn Ḥazm and al-Bakrī, authors of the fifth/eleventh century.³²⁹ They all wrote in the period of the collapse of Umayyad rule and the transition to the highly volatile political landscape of the taifa-principalities, soon to be overrun by Almoravid and Almohad invasions and faced with the rising momentum of the Reconquista. In other words: when Muslim al-Andalus had just begun to appreciate Latin texts as part of its regional identity, a sociopolitical climate marked by an increasing Islamization—either imposed from outside or in defiance of the Iberian-Christian onslaught³³⁰—made Muslim intellectuals turn away from the pre- and non-Islamic linguistic and cultural heritage of

328 Cf. Franz Brunhölzl, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, Munich, W. Fink, 1975, 1992, 2009.

329 Cf. König, *Arabic-Islamic Views*, p. 50-52, 84-86, 134-141, 161-170, 182-184.

330 Maribel Fierro, "Christian Success and Muslim Fear in Andalusī Writings during the Almoravid and Almohad Periods", in *Dhimmi and Others: Jews and Christians and the Classical World of Islam*, ed. Uri Rubin and David J. Wasserstein, Winona Lake, Eisenbrauns ("Israel Oriental Studies: annual publication of the Faculty of humanities, Tel-Aviv university", 17), 1997, p. 155-178; Pascal Buresi, "La réaction idéologique almoravide et almohade à l'expansion occidentale dans la péninsule Ibérique (fin XI^e-mi XIII^e siècles)", *Actes des congrès de la société des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public*, 33 (2003), p. 229-241; María Viguera Molins, "Reacciones des Andalusiens face à la conquête

the Iberian Peninsula.³³¹ From the sixth/twelfth century onwards, the impact of Latin sources on Western Muslim scholarship decreases considerably as becomes manifest in the decreasing quality of information on Roman and Visigothic times, *e.g.* in the *fath al-Andalus* (6th/12th c.), the works of al-Zuhri (6th/12th c.), Ibn 'Idari (d. after 712/1312-1313), Ibn al-Hajib (d. 776/1375), or the *dikr bilad al-Andalus* (8th/14th-9th/15th c.). The Latin heritage was not lost, as becomes evident in Ibn Haldun's extensive use of the *Kitab Hurūshiyūš*, but it was not particularly cherished, let alone cultivated.³³²

This change of sociopolitical circumstances reflected in the historiographical production was accompanied by the linguistic shift from Latin to Romance already addressed above. Ibero-Romance dialects became established written languages in the course of the seventh/thirteenth century and increasingly began to replace Latin: Alfonso X (d. 1284) established Castilian as a language of law, historiography and science.³³³ The Crown of Aragon began to make increasing use of Catalan, *e.g.* in its diplomatic correspondence with the Arabic-Islamic sphere.³³⁴ This linguistic shift away from Latin can also be traced in Arabic-Islamic sources: Ibn al-Hajib cites Romance, not Latin transcriptions in his *Kitab A'māl al-a'lām*,³³⁵ whereas Ibn Haldun shifts from Arabic transcriptions of Latin to Arabic transcriptions of Romance as soon as he deals with periods of Andalusian history not covered anymore by the *Kitāb Hurūshiyūš* and Ibn Ḥayyān.³³⁶ Linguistic developments contributed to making access to Latin texts even less relevant.

"European-Christian" vs "Arabic-Islamic" Motivations to Study the "Other" Language

Having considered this, we may turn to the question why Arabic-Islamic scholars did not reciprocate the enthusiasm shown by Latin-Christian scholars

chrétienne", *Actes des congrès de la société des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public*, 33 (2003), p. 243-251.

331 König, *Arabic-Islamic Views*, p. 182-184.

332 *Ibid.*, p. 141-142, 177-182.

333 Gallego García, "Languages", p. 111-113.

334 See the evidence compiled in the section "The Limited Diffusion of Andalusian Knowledge on Latin in North Africa".

335 Ibn al-Hajib, *A'māl al-a'lām*, p. 322-325, 330, 332.

336 Gabriel Martínez-Gros, "L'histoire de l'Espagne chrétienne dans le 'Kitab al-ibar' d'Ibn Khaldun", in *Balaguer, no5. Cruïlla de civilitzacions*, ed. Flocel Sabaté and Maribel Pedrol, Lleida, Pagès ("Aurembiaix d'Urgell"), 2007, p. 82; König, *Arabic-Islamic Views*, p. 318.

from the sixth/twelfth century onwards for the Arabic language. One could argue that most medieval Latin-Christian and early modern European-Christian intellectuals actively involved in the study of Arabic and the translation of Arabic texts were a minority. But although Gerbert of Aurillac, Adelard of Bath, Gerald of Cremona, later Thomas Erpenius, etc. do not necessarily represent mainstream Latin-Christian thought, we must concede that the study of Arabic affected probably all branches of Latin-Christian scholarship, including theology: Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274) certainly had reasons for writing a treatise against the Averroists, *i.e.* intellectuals influenced by Ibn Rušd's (d. 595/1198) interpretation of Aristotle, translated from Arabic into Latin in the seventh/thirteenth century.³³⁷ We cannot deny the existence of a cultural divide—between a medieval and early modern Latin-Christian intellectual sphere valuing Arabic texts, and a medieval and early modern Arabic-Islamic intellectual sphere hardly taking note of the Latin language.

Lewis explained that Latin-Christian intellectual culture built not only on the classical language of the Romans with its pre-Christian literature, but also on a monotheistic heritage originally formulated in Hebrew and Greek. Thus, it was more receptive to non-Latin, eventually even Arabic influences.³³⁸ Medieval and early modern Arabic-Islamic intellectual culture was certainly thoroughly Arabic: the excellence of Arabic is regularly evoked from the Qur'ān to al-Ṭahtāwī,³³⁹ and it is pre-Islamic poetry, the Qur'ān and the language of the Beduins, not pre-Islamic Aramaic, Hebrew, Greek or Persian literature, that is regarded as the literary precursor and standard in medieval Arabic works of linguistics.³⁴⁰ Notwithstanding, it is impossible to classify Arabic as a language impervious to external stimuli. Aramaic and Hebrew had a considerable influence on the emerging Arabic language. Greek, Syriac and Persian contributed to its lexicon and its literature in the Abbasid age of translation.³⁴¹ Persian and various Turkic variants soon managed to rise to the status of

337 Thomas de Aquino, *Tractatus de unitate intellectus contra Averroistas*, ed. Leo W. Keeler, Rome, Universitas Gregoriana, 1957; cf. Burnett, "Translation", p. 1220-1231; Dag Nikolaus Hasse, "Influence of Arabic and Islamic Philosophy on the Latin West", in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy Online*, ed. Edward N. Zalta (Fall 2014), <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2014/entries/arabic-islamic-influence/>, accessed 18/09/2015.

338 Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery*, p. 298; cf. Walter Berschin, *Griechisch-lateinisches Mittelalter: Von Hieronymus zu Nikolaus von Kues*, Bern-Munich, A. Francke, 1980, p. 31-58.

339 Cf. Chejne, *Arabic Language*, p. 3-24.

340 Versteegh, *Arabic Language*, p. 58-59.

341 Cf. Georges Vajda, "Isrā'īliyyāt", *ET*²; Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture*, p. 20-28.

literary languages in predominantly Muslim societies of the Middle East.³⁴² The Arabic-Islamic treatises on foreign words in the Arabic language by Ibn Durayd, al-Ğawālīqī, al-Suyūṭī and al-Ĥafāğī testify to an awareness among Muslim intellectuals, albeit limited, of the interaction between Arabic and other languages. However, an appreciation of the impact of other languages on Arabic, as found in the works of Ibn Ĥaldūn and al-Maqqarī with regards to the Romance influence on Andalusian Arabic,³⁴³ does not automatically lead to a systematic study of the respective languages. We must thus turn to the motivations that made European Christians study Arabic, and ask why Arabic-Islamic scholars did not develop equivalent motives to study Latin.

As already highlighted at the beginning of this article, the medieval Latin-Christian and early modern European-Christian interest in Arabic was stimulated in different ways. One important motivation to study Arabic was to receive access to intellectual resources that had come into existence thanks to the translation of Greek and Syriac texts into Arabic between the second/eighth and the fourth/tenth centuries and the subsequent development of this heritage at the hand of Arabic-Islamic scholars. Stephen of Antioch (*fl.* 1127), who produced a Latin translation of Dioscorides' pharmaceutical treatise after comparing Greek and Arabic versions, is only one of many Latin-Christian scholars who exhibited interest in this scientific heritage.³⁴⁴ Even criticism of Islam did not deter such scholars from delving into what Hermann of Carinthia called "the treasures of the Arabs" around 1143.³⁴⁵ Other motivations nourished this quest for knowledge. At the end of the fifth/eleventh or the beginning of the sixth/twelfth century, Ibn 'Abdūn from Seville complained about Jews and Christians who translated scientific books from Arabic only to present them to their co-religionists as their own.³⁴⁶ Adelard of Bath (d. *ca* 1152), in turn, wrote

342 Grévin, *Le parchemin des cieux*, p. 38-39; Bert G. Fagner, *Die 'Persophonie': Regionalität, Identität und Sprachkontakt in der Geschichte Asiens*, Berlin, Das Arabische Buch ("ANOR", 5), 1999.

343 Ibn Ĥaldūn, *Ta'riḥ*, I, p. 770-771; al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, I, p. 221-222.

344 Charles Burnett, "Antioch as a Link Between Arabic and Latin Culture in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries", in *Occident et Proche-Orient: contacts scientifiques au temps des Croisades*, ed. Isabelle Draelants, Anne Tihon and Baudouin van den Abeele, Turnhout, Brepols ("Réminiscences", 5), 2000, p. 38-39.

345 Cf. Hermann of Carinthia, *Liber de Essentiis*, ed. and transl. Charles Burnett, Leiden-Köln, E.J. Brill ("Studien und Texte zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters", 15), 1982, Al. 24 D, fol. 58rA, p. 71-72: *ex intimis Arabum thesauris*. On his criticism of Islam see *ibid.*, primus liber, fol. 59r., Al. 28 D, p. 80-81.

346 Évariste Lévi-Provençal, "Un document sur la vie urbaine et les corps de métiers à Séville au début du XII^e siècle: le traité d'Ibn 'Abdūn", *Journal Asiatique*, 224 (1934), p. 248.

a treatise on the merits of Arabic scholarship. Complaining about an intellectual environment that only accepted older authorities, Adelard claims to have employed other authorities, in this case probably Arabic-Islamic works, to express his own thoughts.³⁴⁷ Thus, Latin-Christian scholars of the sixth/twelfth and seventh/thirteenth century used Arabic skills not only to acquire knowledge, but also to leave a mark in their respective intellectual environment.

Christianity's intellectual struggle with its rival Islam provided another important motivation to promote the study of Arabic, as becomes evident in Peter the Venerable's (d. 1156) explanations why he commissioned a Latin translation of the Qur'ān.³⁴⁸ The idea that Arabic skills would be helpful to spread the Christian faith was then promoted considerably by Ramon Llull (d. ca 1316)³⁴⁹ and found institutional expression in the plan, envisaged at the council of Vienne (1311-1312), to create chairs for the teaching of Oriental languages in Rome, Paris, Oxford, Bologna and Salamanca.³⁵⁰ In humanist and post-humanist circles of the Early Modern Period, the study of Arabic served to solve urgent questions of computation linked to the Calendar reform of 1582,³⁵¹ promised to provide a deeper understanding of the Hebrew language of the Old Testament,³⁵² and continued to serve as a tool for a deeper understanding of the rival religion of Islam.

Arabic-Islamic scholars failed to develop comparable motivations to study Latin. The "Latins" sought the intellectual resources at their disposal, not vice versa. As we have seen above, neither Roman-Latin nor medieval Latin-Christian literature had much to offer to an Arabic-Islamic world imbued with Greek science in the fields of mathematics, astronomy, geography, medicine, philosophy, etc.³⁵³ In addition, Arabic-Islamic scholars did not need Latin either to

347 Adelard of Bath, *Questiones naturales*, in *Adelard of Bath: Conversations with his Nephew*, ed. and transl. Charles Burnett, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press ("Cambridge medieval classics", 9), 1998, p. 82-83.

348 Petrus Venerabilis, *Contra sectam Saracenorum*, ed. and transl. Reinhold Gleis, prologus, cap. 17-18, p. 52-56.

349 Raimundus Lullus, *Opera Latina*, 120-122, in *Monte Pessulano anno MCCCX composita*, ed. Aloisius Madre, (CCCM 35), Turnhout, Brepols ("Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis", 35; "Raimundi Lulli Opera latina", 9), 1981, p. 280-283.

350 *Concilium Viennense* (a. 1311-12), § 24, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo, transl. Joseph Wohlmuth, in *Konzilien des Mittelalters*, vol. 2: *Vom ersten Laterankonzil (1123) bis zum fünften Laterankonzil (1512-1517)*, ed. Joseph Wohlmuth, Paderborn, Schöningh, 2000, p. 379.

351 Joseph Scaliger, *De emendatione temporum*, Cologne, Typis Roverianis, 1629 (reprint of 1583); cf. Fück, *Arabische Studien*, p. 47-53.

352 Cf. *ibid.*, p. 105-107.

353 Dakhliya, *Lingua*, p. 97.

understand their holy scripture nor to solve computistic problems. Even medieval Arabic-Islamic theologians, although proliferous as authors of treatises on *ḡihād* and the merits of Islam over Christianity,³⁵⁴ did not need a thorough knowledge of Latin (as opposed to Byzantine, Syriac or Mozarab) Christianity to develop arguments against Christian doctrine. Since they never developed the idea of systematically penetrating Christian territory with the help of missionaries, they lacked the equivalent motivation to study the languages of potential proselytes. Thus, unlike their medieval and early modern Latin-Christian colleagues, Arabic-Islamic scholars moved in an environment that failed to stimulate proficiency in the other sphere's languages. This also set them apart from other professional groups in the Islamic sphere who depended on such skills to facilitate economic, diplomatic and other forms of relations—not in Latin, however, but in Arabic, a Romance vernacular or the *lingua franca*.

Conclusion: Whose Heritage?

All this leads to the following conclusions: marked by the Roman presence in the Middle East, the emerging Arabic language as the main medium of Arabic-Islamic literature was also influenced linguistically by Latin. It took a long time, however, for Latin to become a serious object of study among Muslims using the Arabic language. Middle Eastern Arabic-Islamic scholars of the medieval and early modern period generally had problems of defining Latin as a language used in the Roman Empire and medieval Western Europe. Latin as an independent language was only “discovered” in al-Andalus where a limited number of Latin-Arabic translations were produced between the third/ninth and the fourth/tenth century. The information acquired about the Latin language in the Andalusian context only experienced a limited diffusion to North Africa and the Middle East in the following centuries. It is among a restricted circle of Ottoman scholars involved in the reception of early modern European science and, in particular, among Middle Eastern Christians attached to the papacy that Latin received attention in the eleventh/seventeenth to thirteenth/nineteenth centuries. The latter's engagement with Latin, however, was restricted to specifically Christian topics which were of little interest to the Muslim

354 See the collection by Erdmann Fritsch, *Islam und Christentum im Mittelalter: Beiträge zur Geschichte der muslimischen Polemik gegen das Christentum in arabischer Sprache*, Breslau, Müller & Seiffert (“Breslauer studien zur historischen theologie”, 17), 1930; Emile Tyan, “Djihād”, *ET*².

majority of the Arab sphere. Although a large number of Muslims must have been able to use a Romance language latest from the high Middle Ages onwards and in spite of the fact that early modern Muslim travellers to Europe occasionally acknowledged the role of Latin in early modern European education, the importance of Latin for the development of European culture was only clearly appreciated from the late nineteenth century onwards. At this point, the Arab world began to become seriously involved with European systems of education. Only with the introduction of the latter to the Arab world—as part of the colonial education systems in the Maghreb, as part of the effort to adopt European forms of education in the Mashreq—did Latin become a serious object of study in Arab academic *curricula* dedicated to the systematic exploration of ancient, medieval and modern Mediterranean and European history.

The reasons for this “delayed” reception are multifarious and cannot be reduced to Muslim arrogance and ignorance towards non-Muslim societies, an overriding master narrative of Arabic-Islamic decline or an ideologically grounded defiance of the Latin language. On the contrary, various factors contributed to the development of a particular “oral approach” of Mediterranean Muslim societies to the languages of Christian Europe: Muslim intellectual culture came into being in an environment marked by Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek and Persian which were, accordingly, of more fundamental relevance to Arabic literary culture than Latin and its Romance derivatives; regional specificities in North Africa and al-Andalus either impeded or interrupted processes that could have led to a more intensive and systematic appropriation of the Latin literary heritage in areas marked by the latter; literary disequilibria of ancient origin between the Greek and the Latin sphere as well as the thematical restrictions of ancient and medieval Latin literature made Latin less attractive than Greek and Graeco-Syriac texts of, in comparison, “universal” relevance; the linguistic shift from written Latin to written Romance made Latin appear less and less relevant in the course of the centuries; important motivations for learning Arabic in the European-Christian sphere did not exist with regards to Latin in the Arabic-Islamic sphere: the latter failed to develop a missionary agenda based on preaching in foreign languages, and was not obliged to study Latin to understand its holy scripture, the basic tenets of Christianity, or to reform its calendar. In consequence, Muslim societies of the Mediterranean developed the specifically “oral approach” to European-Christian societies outlined by Dakhliya, thus according little attention to the latter’s most important and influential written language, *i.e.* Latin.

It is thus obvious that the role of Latin for the Arab world cannot compare to that of Greek: thanks to the Graeco-Syriac-Arabic translation movement, and

although its influence was occasionally criticized,³⁵⁵ Greek literature became an integral part of Arabic-Islamic intellectual culture. Translations from Latin to Arabic, in turn, were much fewer in number, most of them having been produced from the second half of the twentieth century onwards. In view of all this, it is not surprising that Latin is often presented as a particular 'European' heritage, not only by "Western,"³⁵⁶ but also by Arab authors, *e.g.* in Maḥmūd Taymūr's juxtaposition of Arabic as the sacred language of Islam and Latin as the forsaken language of post-Roman Europe.³⁵⁷ Other Arab intellectuals of the (post-)colonial period, again mainly from Egypt, did not necessarily define Latin as an essential part of the Arab heritage, but stressed the necessity of studying it in the Arab world: Ṭaha Ḥusayn argued that the study of Latin was necessary because Roman law was the basis for great parts of Egypt's borrowed European law, because Greek and Latin were "the basis of the foundations for scientific learning and specialization" (*asās al-usus li-l-ilm wa-l-taḥaṣṣuṣ*) and thus one of the preconditions for establishing a highly developed intellectual environment and for reaching "intellectual independence" (*al-istiqlāl al-ilmī*).³⁵⁸ However, he also defined Greek and Latin as part of the ancient history of Egypt and thus as part of its national heritage, as well as a means to understand the relations of Islamic Egypt to Byzantium and Western Europe in the Middle Ages.³⁵⁹ The more recent medievalist historian 'Ādil 'Abd al-Ḥāfiẓ 'Uṭmān Ḥamza Šihāta added a contemporary dimension to this. He called for the intensified translation of medieval Latin texts to achieve a better understanding, not only of relations between Christian Europe and the Arabic-Islamic sphere in the Middle Ages, but also of their contemporary repercussions.³⁶⁰ This point was also made by the specialist of Greek and

355 Kintzinger and König, "Arabisch-islamisches Erbe", p. 236-237.

356 Cf. Leonhardt, *Latein*, who, although conscious of the extra-European dimension of Latin, continuously contrasts Latin with Arabic. The Finnish government proposed during its EU-presidency to make Latin an official language of the EU and published its news bulletins in Latin, cf. http://www.eu2006.fi/NEWS_AND_DOCUMENTS/NEWSLETTERS/VKO52/EN_GB/1167207984323/INDEX.HTM (accessed 18/09/15). This proposal, although without consequences, shows that Latin is still regarded as a 'typically' European language.

357 Taymūr, *Muškilāt al-luġa l-'arabiyya*, p. 1-13.

358 Ḥusayn, *Mustaqbal al-ṭaqāfa*, p. 172, 176 (quote), 177; cf. Reid, Cairo University, p. 111.

359 Ḥusayn, *Mustaqbal al-ṭaqāfa*, p. 180: *lā nastaṭī'u an nulġiyahā min tāriḥinā l-waṭanī, wa-maṣādir tāriḥihā yūnāniyya wa-lātīniyya, wa-min anna Miṣr qad ittaṣalat fī 'ūsūrihā l-iṣlāmiyya bi-Bīzanṭiyyin min ġiha wa-bi-Ūrūbā l-ġarbiyya min ġiha uhrā, wa-maṣādir al-tāriḥ li-hādā l-ittiṣāl yūnāniyya wa-lātīniyya.*

360 Ḥamza Šihāta, *al-Alāqāt al-siyāsiyya*, p. 346.

Roman literature, Aḥmad ʿItmān (1945-2013), who called to attention that modern European languages can only be understood against the background of Latin, in particular its medieval and early modern variants.³⁶¹ Seen in conjunction with Ḥasan Ḥanafī's initiative to define a field of Occidentalist studies,³⁶² it is thus possible to discern a comparatively recent tendency in Arab, in particular Egyptian, intellectual circles to emphasize the necessity of engaging more intensively with a Latin literary heritage that, seen from a wider historical and geographical perspective, is not only "Roman," "Mediterranean," "European" or "Christian" but—because of the Arab and Arabic-Islamic sphere's important role in Roman, Mediterranean and European history, also "Arabic" and "Islamic."

361 ʿItmān, *al-Adab al-lātīnī*, p. 247.

362 Ḥasan Ḥanafī, *Muqaddima fi ʿilm al-istiḡrāb*, Cairo, al-Dār al-fanniya, 1991.